

Exhibit A

Memo

To: Victor Yanukovich, Rinat Akmethov

CC: Anton Prigorski, Vasily Jhartz, Eduard Prutnik

From: Paul J. Manafort
Tad Devine

Re: Messages for January: Next Wave of Television and Radio Ads

Date: January 3, 2006

The purpose of this Memorandum is to lay out the key messages for January. These messages will be the focus of all of the television, radio and print advertisements, the stump speech of the Leader, the Talking Points provided to the VIP surrogates for their campaigning, the Talking Points distributed to the Regional and District Leadership of the Campaign and all other communication mechanisms used during this month.

Themes for January

The themes for January will build on the foundations of November and December. We will be reminding the electorate of the failures of the current government and offering our record and plans as the solution. The economic plan and energy crisis solution will be framed around the leadership of Victor Yanukovich and his record of accomplishment is the credibility to make the claim that he knows what to do when he is returned to power.

In January, we will be moving the campaign into new territory. We will be presenting the framework of a program to get Ukraine moving again. We will do this with the backdrop of the latest crisis, the gas fight between Russia and Ukraine. The fact that Yanukovich has called for renewing the "special relationship between Russia and Ukraine" provides the credibility to make the statement that Yanukovich understands the importance of being a good neighbor and how it impacts directly on the interests of the Ukrainian people and is the basis to promise that Ukraine will not have this type of crisis once Yanukovich and the Party of Regions returns to power.

We must present this message by stressing that Yanukovich understands that Ukraine should not choose between the benefits of the east over the west and that as Prime Minister he will construct a bridge to both, not a one way street. This message will be incorporated into the revised stump speech that the Leader will be giving in his campaign appearances. Also, the VIP surrogates Talking Points need to stress that naiveté of Yushchenko and Tymoshenko to believe that the Government could slap Russia in the face and suffer no consequences. The key connection must be made to the poor judgment of the Government and the disastrous impact not only the Ukrainian economy but directly on the interests of the Ukrainian people. The message will emphasize that Yanukovich

will not make such a colossal misjudgment and has the relationships in Russian needed to fix the problem created by Yushchenko and his team. This spot focuses on the bridge from Ukraine to the East.

The second part of the strategy for January is to unveil the framework of our Economic Plan both in a major speech and in the second television spot.

The speech will be a serious policy presentation of what a Yanukovich economic Plan will include and contrast it with the failed policies of the Government over the last 12 months.

The television ad will show the cover of the Party of Regions Economic Plan and present the key points of the plan geared to creating good jobs, stabilizing wages and implementing a social policy framework to protect the delivery of social services. The significance of this ad is to create the impression that Yanukovich has a plan and with his experience will bring back stability and prosperity. This spot focuses on the bridge from Ukraine to the West.

This message schedule will allow the Party of Regions to maintain the offensive in the campaign. It will remind the electorate of what they are most unhappy about and that there is a need for a change and it will present Victor Yanukovich and the Party of Regions as an acceptable, credible change.

The Media Buy Schedule

The advertisement program for January should be as follows:

January

1 – 7 Holiday Greetings from Leader

8 – 15 The Ads that ran during the last 10 days of December (TV and Radio)
Orange Revolution
Leadership

16 – 29 Two New Ads and new Radio spot
Gas
Economic Plan of Party of Regions

30– Feb New ads to be created

Exhibit B

From: taddevine@aol.com
Date: February 03, 2010 3:29:41 PM (-08)
To: anna.p.devine@gmail.com
Subject: **Fwd: Election Night Speech**

Attachments: Victor Yanukovych Election Night Speech.docx;

-----Original Message-----

From: taddevine@aol.com
To: pmanafort@davismanafort.com
Sent: Wed, Feb 3, 2010 2:06 pm
Subject: Election Night Speech

Paul:
Just landed in NY. Here is the speech. Hope you like it.
Best,
Tad

Victor Yanukovych Election Night Speech

A New Beginning for Ukraine

Thank you all for being here tonight, and for being part of this campaign. And thank you for joining our cause – the fight for change - that is the heart and soul of this campaign.

On this day, the 7th of February, in the year of our Lord 2010, Ukraine has chosen to embrace a new beginning.

On this day, the proud, hardworking, intelligent and caring people of Ukraine came together and spoke - with a resounding voice.

You said the time has come for a government that works - and for a government that will put people back to work.

You said that part of being free is the freedom to earn a decent living to provide support and sustenance for yourself and your family.

You said the time has come for a government that cares about our elderly who need and deserve decent pensions; our children who need and deserve quality schools; our workers who need and deserve health care and jobs. You said the time has come for a government that cares about our poor and our destitute who need and deserve a helping hand.

You have spoken, and I have listened. From the beginning of the campaign as I crossed this great nation, I have seen your struggles; I have looked into your eyes and into your hearts; I have heard your call for change and now today, on this day, the world has heard your voice – the voice of the people expressed in a free and fair election.

Together we will build a new Ukraine, with a government that is worthy of its people, and a future that is bright for hard working people.

My goals for the months and years ahead are ambitious but attainable.

First, we must restore the economy of Ukraine so our people have jobs.

We must restore stability and order in our government and our society, so businesses can grow and prosper and people can live in peace and dignity.

We must restore effective leadership, so government begins to work again for people.

And we must restore Ukraine, and give our people and our children the future they deserve.

Let me say thank you to the people who came out today in every region of Ukraine to vote for me. Your faith in me and in the team I will assemble to lead the fight for change is a gift we will respect and treasure. We will work everyday to keep your trust.

And to Yulia Tymoshenko and all those who supported her, and to my fellow countrymen who supported other candidates in the first round of voting and still feel disappointment about their loss, I say we will work hard to earn your support, and we need your help – today and in the years ahead – to build our nation's economy and to rebuild the links that bind us a people. Because the greatest achievement of any President would be to unite our country – east and west, north, center and south – so that the many ties and bonds that can unite us will become the ties and bonds that define us as a nation.

In this campaign, I have devised a plan for prosperity and progress. It's called *"Ukraine for the People"*, and the goal is to create jobs, unite our country, and restore hope and stability. In the days and weeks ahead, we will begin to implement that plan, so that we can start to achieve urgently needed progress.

We are all Ukrainians first, who love our country and want it to succeed and prosper. Let us resolve that today, on this day, we will begin the journey towards true national unity and purpose.

A journey towards a peaceful and prosperous Ukraine – that is part of the European community and one day part of the European Union, and a trusted friend and neighbor to Russia and other countries to the east. A journey towards building a bridge between Russia and the west, that uses our unique geographic, historical, economic and cultural position and ties to foster trade, commerce, peace and mutual respect.

That is the journey I intend to lead, and I know that, with God's help, together we will get there – all the regions of Ukraine – one nation with one future. We have a chance for a new beginning. Let's seize the moment, and make the most of precious opportunity.

Thank you all, God bless you, and may God bless Ukraine.

Exhibit C

From: taddevine@aol.com
Date: February 15, 2010 5:39:09 AM (-08)
To: pmanafort@davismanafort.com; dsackett@tarrance.com; dan@rabinstrasberg.com; adam@rabinstrasberg.com; julian@devinemulvey.com; cbarnes@davismanafort.com; collinb80@gmail.com; my22314@gmail.com; kit@kitspence.com; seangriffis@googlemail.com
Cc: rgates@pericleslp.com; pgriffin@davismanafort.com; kkilimnik@davismanafort.com
Subject: **Re: Job Well Done**

Attachments:

Paul:

Congratulations on a great campaign. It was textbook, and a great example of how campaigns can make the difference in the outcome. There was tremendous discipline and execution of the message, incredible research, and a fantastic team on the ground that met every challenge. You deserve enormous credit for pulling everything together, and for your leadership. It was great to be part of the team.

Best,
Tad

-----Original Message-----

From: Paul Manafort <pmanafort@davismanafort.com>
To: Dave Sackett <dsackett@tarrance.com>; Tad Devine <taddevine@aol.com>; Daniel Rabin <dan@rabinstrasberg.com>; Adam <adam@rabinstrasberg.com>; Julian Mulvey <julian@devinemulvey.com>; Catherine Barnes <cbarnes@davismanafort.com>; Collin Bond <collinb80@gmail.com>; Martha Young <my22314@gmail.com>; kit@kitspence.com; Sean Griffis <seangriffis@googlemail.com>; kit@kitspence.com
Cc: Rick Gates <rgates@pericleslp.com>; Philip Griffin <pgriffin@davismanafort.com>; Konstantin Kilimnik <kkilimnik@davismanafort.com>
Sent: Mon, Feb 15, 2010 3:59 am
Subject: Job Well Done

To the Team

The CEC certified Victor Yanukovich as the winner of the Presidential election last night. While Tymoshenko is threatening to challenge this decision, her threats will accomplish nothing other than harm to her political career for not recognizing the result.

So, it is with a sense of finality (only a sense though) that I say thank you for a fantastic job. This was the best campaign yet.

Everyone from Yanukovich to Demeko know that but for the efforts of this team, there would be no celebration. I spent 5 hours with Yanukovich on Election night and he made the point continuously to thank the team. This is not something that he has done much in the past. This time, he definitely gets it.

While I would have preferred a larger win, we even had the final result projected. In one of our conservative projections we were less than .02 off on Yank and .1 off on Tymo. So the data gathered did its job.

As I wind down in Kyiv I want you to know that there is no way I can adequately express my appreciation to you for your efforts. Our campaign was superior to the others in every respect. This is a tribute not just to your abilities but to your commitment. I know there were many time conflicts but the way everyone prioritized this campaign was noted and appreciated. Having work campaigns for

the last 35 years, this one will be at the top of the list of most satisfying. So, thank you for all that you sacrificed and the work that you contributed.

I expect to be back in the DC area in the next couple of weeks and will organize something this Spring for us to get together to relive the campaign, and begin the story telling.

I am most gratefully yours,

Paul

PS btw maybe we will celebrate the Presidential win at a strategy lunch for the upcoming Parliamentary elections...only kidding.

Exhibit D

From: Tad Devine
Date: August 31, 2010 11:40:52 AM (-07)
To: anne@devinemulvey.com
Subject: **another memo**

Attachments: Media Strategy & Presentation of Message-Adv 8-12-10.doc;

To: President Victor Yanukovich
CC: NA, AK, BVK,
BCC: SL, Demekyo

From: PJM

Re: Media Strategy & Presentation of Message/Advertising

Date: August 12, 2010

The purpose of this memorandum is to set out the strategic assumptions for the campaign, the key messages, the advertising themes and what should be the initial message presentation.

The strategy is laid out in detail in the July 11, 2010 memorandum. In that document I recommended that our national campaign be built on several strategic components that have wide acceptance with the Ukrainian people. These components should drive our plan, both in themes, messages and advertising.

Strategic Assumptions

A summary of those strategic components are:

1. A majority of voters believe that the Orange have proven that they cannot be effective; they had 5 years of total power and failed to improve the lives of the people.
2. A significant majority of voters have an unfavorable impression of Tymoshenko. She is in danger of being minimized the way Yushchenko was.
3. President Yanukovich is popular in all sections of Ukraine.
4. The job performance of the President is getting strong approval by all segments of Ukraine
5. PoR is viewed as the best party to improve the lives of people at the local levels and this is driving voters attitudes at this point in time.
6. There is a correlation in the minds of the voters of the importance of local officials being affiliated with the ruling national government in order to maximize the benefits to the local communities.

Strategic Framework of Local Elections Campaign Themes

The core of the PofR campaign must be a “throw the incumbents out” campaign in the West and many Central Oblasts. Our surveys show that the electorate views the opposition and their performance when in office as very weak, the incumbency ratings for local elected officials are weak, and the strongest sentiment that exists among Ukraine voters is that the opposition had their chance for the past five years, and failed. Ultimately this is less a campaign about bringing in the PofR and more a campaign of finishing the job started in the Presidential election of getting rid the failed opposition that did nothing.

It is very important for the PofR to focus on the message that only the PofR candidates and local office holders are capable of working with national officials on an “integrated” strategy that will protect jobs and bring new jobs.” This is our competitive advantage and we must constantly stress it.

In making this argument, it must be understood that **the credibility of this message is not that the PofR has a great track record or brilliant ideas on this issue, but that the opposition has been a miserable failure in dealing with this problem.** The point of the argument is to call on the voters to reject those who have had five years to fix the problems and have failed – the Orange.

This message has an abbreviated version and a more elaborate one.

1. Short Message

For five years Orange had their time and failed you. They controlled all of the levers of power. Yet they failed to improve the lives of Ukrainians.

The change at the national level has brought stability and reform to government. Things are beginning to work again.

To move forward, local and national leaders must be able to work together to make the changes necessary to improve the lives and help create jobs.

The local elections provide the opportunity to complete the changes. Only the Party of Regions can move us forward.

2. Long Message Statement

For five years the opposition controlled the government at the local and national level and not only did they fail to improve the economy, but they destroyed it. They could not work together even when they had full control.

The Presidential election changed the national level of government, now we must complete the change and elect representatives at the local level who can work with our new national leaders.

Since the new government took office, things are beginning to work again. But, to move Ukraine forward and improve people’s lives, we need a government at the local and national level that can work together. Only then can we bring jobs to the local communities and deliver the local services to improve the quality of life for all Ukrainians.

We need results and new leaders who will fight to protect your jobs, instead of fighting with each other. We cannot afford to have a divided government at the local and national levels.

The PoR is ready to serve the people in every oblast and make government work for you. Electing the PoR candidates as the local government leader is the best way to create the stability needed to make the changes that will improve your life and get Ukraine back to work.

Slogan

The recommended slogan is *Building a New Ukraine* or *Building a New Country*.

This slogan provides the framework to run both a negative campaign (Orange caused problems and failed to deliver) and positive campaign (Complete the power vertical which will allow PoR to deliver services needed to improve lives).

Advertising Campaign

The advertising campaign should open with a heavy emphasis on the negative message and a light emphasis on the positive message.

September should focus on the fact that the national government is turning the country around but the mess created by the failed Orange Government is even worse than originally thought. We need to tie the failures of the past 5 years to the local problems.

In September we should stress certain messages in those communities where the Orange held control of the local governments over the past 5 years. The messages should be consistent with the national messages and should be repeated with local emphasis:

- The Orange failed to deliver when they had control of the national government and local governments.
- Specifically, here in XXXX, things like XXXX have gotten worse.
- They cannot be expected to deliver now when they are not in power in Kyiv.
- The only way to ensure that your local needs are met is to elect a government that can work with the current national government.

The main positive message that should be laid down in September, to be elaborated more in October, is that the new government has brought stability to Kyiv and now we need to bring stability to the local governments in order to allow efficient and effective delivery of the services needed by the people. Citing a few examples of services delivered in the local communities by the new government, we should create the foundation for what we will promise in October.

In October, we will shift the emphasis of the negative and positive messages. The intensity of the balance of the two in October will be driven by what the polls are saying. Thus, the precise closing advertising construction will be determined in mid to late September.

Conclusion

This memorandum puts in context the national advertising messages and strategy on a calendar basis. Elements of both will be updated as the campaign progresses.

From: Tad Devine
Date: August 31, 2010 11:41:36 AM (-07)
To: anna@devinemulvey.com
Subject: **TPs for Party Congress**

Attachments:

From: Paul Manafort <pmanafort@davismanafort.com>
To: Tad Devine <tad@devinemulvey.com>
Cc: Paul Manafort <pmanafort@davismanafort.com>
Subject: TPs for Party Congress
Date: Tue, Aug 31, 2010 11:55 am

Tad

Could you develop TPs for Azarov, Yanukovich and some regional leaders emphasizing the themes in our strategy document.

The Party Congress is on Sept 9. I really need these TPs by COB tomorrow. The themes of the TPs should be organized as follows:

- a. Azarov will speak for about 10-12 minutes (in Russian). He will
 - i. Criticize Tymoshenko for the mess she left
 - ii. Present the election platform, with focus on our core message that the only way to ensure that the local needs are met is to elect a local government that can work with the current national government
 - iii. Say that only consolidated government can be effective
 - iv. PofR will work with all parties and elements of the society to build a new country. The days of conflicts and wars are over
- b. Then, VFY will deliver a short 5-7 minutes inspiring speech (in Ukrainian), in which he will share his vision of the future and say that
 - i. His program "Ukraine for the people", with which he ran for President, is going to lay the foundation of the stability and sustainable development
 - ii. This program is real and implementable, but the country needs help of our united team to make it work and to ensure that local communities benefit
 - iii. The controversies and conflicts of the past, which were tearing the country apart at the national level and harmed the people, are now history.
 - iv. Now we need to do the same at the local level, so that all branches work for the benefit of the people in a consolidated manner
 - v. PofR is a powerful and influential force, whose competent leaders take the lead and responsibility for improving everybody's lives, and give a real hope to the nation.
- c. After that, several regional leaders will speak, focusing on
 - i. The need of all responsible political forces to work together for the sake of the country,
 - ii. The benefits which implementation of the VFY program and leadership will give to the people, etc

Exhibit E

From: taddevine@aol.com
Date: September 01, 2010 3:44:45 PM (-07)
To: pmanafort@davismanafort.com
Cc: dan@rabinstrasberg.com; julian@devinemulvey.com; rgates@pericleslp.com;
adam@rabinstrasberg.com; pgriffin@davismanafort.com
Subject: **Talking Points**

Attachments: Ukraine_Talking_Points.doc;

Paul:

Draft talking points attached.
Best,
Tad

TALKING POINTS - UKRAINE

TO: Paul Manafort

FROM: Tad Devine

SUBJECT: Talking Points

DATE: 09/01/2010

AZAROV

- When our party came to office, Ukraine's economy was hanging in the balance.
- For five years Orange held power over the government at the local and national level, and not only did they fail to improve the economy, they practically destroyed it.
- The Orange left a mess that was unprecedented in scale, and the increases in prices and reduction of services today were caused by their failures in government.
- The Orange had their time to improve your lives and they failed.
- How can we expect them to make improvements in people's lives when they are out of national power when they couldn't do it while they were in power?
- During Orange control, the value of the Hryvnia plummeted, and unemployment skyrocketed.
- The change in Government at the national level has brought *stability* and *reform* to government, and is bringing *stability* and *reform* to Ukraine.
- Things are beginning to work again, but in order for government to work for everyone it must work well together.
- That means not only the Rada must work effectively with the President and governmental departments, but also that the *local governments* must work cooperatively with the national agenda.
- Instead of fighting with one another we need everyone to pull their oars in the same direction. That's the only way to turn the ship of state around.
- The best way to accomplish this is to elect people and parties that support President Yanukovych's platform of reform and revitalization.

- The PoR is willing to work with all parties to bring the changes needed to achieve real relief and reform.
- But by electing candidates from the PoR we can ensure that the local and national governments will work hand in hand, stand shoulder to shoulder, to pull their oars together in unison, and get Ukraine back on course.
- The local elections provide the opportunity to complete the changes that we started in the last election.
- Only the PoR can move us forward because we are the most committed to the real reforms necessary to *Building A New Ukraine*.
- The last government showed us how government should not work.
- They thrived on turmoil and encouraged political battles at every turn.
- Our goal is economic growth achieved through consensus politics.
- Our political strategy is not to divide and conquer, but to unite and liberate—unite and liberate Ukraine's people and Ukraine's economy.

VFY

- When I ran for president I made a simple promise that Ukraine would once again be for the people.
- “*Ukraine For The People*” is not just a political slogan— it is a solemn pledge and a concrete program.
- We are fulfilling the promises we made in the campaign to return the government of Ukraine to the people of Ukraine.
- Unlike our predecessors, our program is not full of platitudes and empty promises.
- The PoR is working with the best economists, business leaders, and technocrats to deliver economic growth that is real, implementable, and sustainable.
- We have relegated the poisonous politics of the past to the dustbin of history.
- We have turned our back on the discord and division that characterized the years of Orange rule.
- Instead we have worked to unify our nation and to achieve not just consensus here at home, but consensus across the world that we are on the right path, because to implement

the reforms that are necessary, Ukraine must reach out to other nations, and earn their trust, respect, and support.

- That is why I have and will continue to travel to other nations, to build the bonds of trust, cooperation and economic endeavor that are critical to rebuilding our broken economy.
- Since the PoR took office, we have already begun to reach out to the rest of the world, and that trust, respect, and support is quickly being achieved. But there is more to do.
- The next step forward for Ukraine is to end the divisions between local governments and national government.
- By electing representatives of the PoR we will ensure that the much-needed consensus between the local and federal levels will be achieved.
- We have brought stability to the national and oblast governments, and with victory in the local election we can ensure that the benefits are delivered to all people at the local level.
- Once that step forward has been taken we can accelerate our progress and not only turn our back on the broken economy and ruptured political system that the last government left to us, but begin to build a government worthy of the people of Ukraine, and an economy that will offer security and sustenance to every man, woman, and child in our nation.
- That's why these elections are so important - because the future of Ukraine hangs in the balance.
- The Orange put their personal and political interests above the people.
- The suffering and increases in prices that are occurring today are a direct result of the failed economic and social policies of my predecessors, and the atmosphere of instability and chaos created by those policies.
- Since the PoR won office we have taken steps to restore power to the Ukrainian people, and stability to our government and society.
- While the Orange refused to work with anyone who did not do exactly what they wanted, our government is willing to work with all parties to make the changes needed to bring real relief and reform.
- So far we have worked across all regions with all people, irrespective of politics, on a massive construction effort to ensure that Ukraine does not lose the UEFA cup.

- The PoR is committed to putting real change ahead of old style politics, and eliminating the crippling cronyism that defined the last administration.
- This administration is dedicated to democracy, and I expect clean and honest elections, where all political parties will be included in an orderly process.
- And with the implementation of fair and transparent elections I am confident that the PoR will prevail.
- We must finish the job of bringing stability to the power structure by electing local leaders from the PoR so that the people will feel the reforms being implemented at the national level quickly and effectively.
- With the election of local leaders from the PoR, the reforms crafted at the national level will flow directly to local communities across Ukraine.
- Programs like my administration's social protection system, which will provide relief to those who need it, especially during the transition to the new economy. This includes healthcare and medical reform, and a new focus on quality education for our children.
- The implementation of the new and fairer tax code, which will create a society that will tax everyone consistent with his or her ability to pay.
- And new reforms within the criminal justice system to equalize the administration of justice and protect citizens from rogue official actions.
- Electing members of the PoR to local office will help these national reforms reach you, the people of Ukraine, in the timeliest way possible, so that your standard of living will be improved as soon as possible.
- I am committed to building a new and modern Ukraine, devoid of the corruption and instability that characterized the previous administration. But I can't do it alone. You have the power to vote to continue the reforms the PoR has begun at the national level. The local elections give you the chance to finish the job and create real change by voting for the PoR at the local level.
- We are ***Building A New Ukraine***, piece-by-piece, brick by brick. And we will build a stronger and better nation than ever before by bringing people together with the common goal of a peaceful, prosperous, and free Ukraine that we will leave to our children and grandchildren so that they can realize their full potential.

REGIONAL LEADERS

- Regional leader identifies himself and notes his region.
- Regional leader then discusses the challenges faced in his region.
- Regional leader discusses how strong ties between the local and national government can help to achieve solutions at the local level.
- Regional leader pledges his support and fidelity to President Yanukovich's program of "Ukraine for the People, and a commitment to work together to ***Build A New Ukraine***".
- Regional leader makes specific promises to improve local conditions and connects promised changes with the importance of having local leaders who can deal with the national government.
- Regional leader may speak to specific reforms and changes that they will bring to their oblasts.
- Focus on ability to deliver needed services and economic progress because of their ties directly to the national government.

From: taddevine@aol.com
Date: September 01, 2010 4:18:37 PM (-07)
To: pmanafort@davismanafort.com
Subject: **Re: Talking Points**

Attachments:

No, sorry your note said AZ, VY and leaders, but if you want BVK I will do some tonight.

-----Original Message-----

From: Paul Manafort <pmanafort@davismanafort.com>
To: taddevine@aol.com
Sent: Wed, Sep 1, 2010 7:08 pm
Subject: RE: Talking Points

tad
did u do any for BVK?

From: taddevine@aol.com [<mailto:taddevine@aol.com>]
Sent: Wednesday, September 01, 2010 6:45 PM
To: Paul Manafort
Cc: dan@rabinstrasberg.com; julian@devinemulvey.com; Rick Gates; adam@rabinstrasberg.com; Philip Griffin
Subject: Talking Points

Paul:
Draft talking points attached.
Best,
Tad

Exhibit F

From: "Daniel Rabin" <dan@rabinstrasberg.com>
Date: September 20, 2011 10:06:58 PM
To: "Julian Mulvey" <julian@devinemulvey.com>; "Adam Strasberg" <adam@rabinstrasberg.com>
Subject: **Fwd: Ukraine - First Draft**

Attachments: October 2011 Ukraine National.doc; ATT174628.htm;

Hey Adam and Jules. Just got this from PJM...

Begin forwarded message:

From: Paul Manafort <pmanafort@dmpint.com>
Subject: FW: Ukraine - First Draft
Date: September 20, 2011 5:48:06 PM EDT
To: "K. Kilimnik" <kkilimnik@dmpint.com>, Rick Gates <rgates@dmpint.com>, Daniel Rabin <dan@rabinstrasberg.com>, Tad Devine <taddevine@aol.com>

Gentlemen

As we prepare the benchmark survey I would appreciate your thoughts on this questionnaire. I need to hear back with any comments or matters that you think we should test that are not on this questionnaire.

Rick will be in touch with you, if he has not already been, to begin discussions about the upcoming VR election. In the meantime, we will go into the field and your thoughts are much appreciated.

Thanks

Paul

Subject: Ukraine - First Draft

Attached please find the first draft per your memo. As you review, please make note of the following –

- * This thing is really long. You invariably have other things you want to look at. You will have to DELETE some stuff that is in here
- * About a third of the stuff you said you wanted in the analysis is stuff that will be drawn from the cross-tabs, and don't require new questions
- * Questions in yellow on computer or shaded on hard copy are NEW questions – questions that have not been asked before and have no trendline
- * Q77 – I added Strong Ukraine to the list of parties that would be in White coalition. Not sure if that is appropriate or not.
- * Q78-79 – in a perfect world we would only ask these two questions of voters in the

TO region, but RGB doesn't handle skip patterns. Will ask of everyone and just pay attention to results from TO

* D9-11 – added back in past vote demographics so we can look at past vs. current.

Ukraine National

FIRST DRAFT / SEPTEMBER 19, 2011

STUDY #XXXXX

RESEARCH AND BRANDING GROUP

N=3,000 eligible voters throughout the Ukraine

Field Dates: September XX – October XX, 2011

Hello, I am _____ of _____, a national research firm. We're talking to people in the Republic of Ukraine today about public and economic issues facing us all.

Now, thinking specifically about President Victor Yanukovich --

1. How do you feel about the job Victor Yanukovich is doing as President? Would you say that you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove?

Approve/strongly	1
Approve/somewhat	2
Disapprove/somewhat	3
Disapprove/strongly	4
UNSURE (DNR)	99
REFUSED (DNR)	97

Now, thinking about things in Ukraine --

2. Do you feel things in Ukraine are going in the right direction, or do you feel things have gotten off on the wrong track?

IF CHOICE MADE, ASK: And
do you feel strongly or
somewhat about that?

Right direction/strongly	1
Right direction/somewhat	2
UNSURE (DNR)	3
Wrong track/somewhat	4
Wrong track/strongly	5

Still thinking about the future of the country --

3. Taking everything into account, would you say that you are mostly -- (ROTATE) -- • optimistic, or
• pessimistic -- about the future, say over the next three years?

IF CHOICE MADE, ASK: And
do you feel strongly or
somewhat about that?

Optimistic/strongly	1
Optimistic	2
BOTH (DNR)	3
NEITHER (DNR)	4
Pessimistic	5
Pessimistic/strongly	6
UNSURE/DK (DNR)	7

Now I would like to read you a list of issues that some people here say are important for the President of the Ukraine to deal with. Please read the list and tell me which one issue you think is most important for the President of the Ukraine to deal with. **(READ AND ROTATE ISSUES)**

	Q4 MOST <u>IMPORTANT</u>
• Rising prices	1
• Increasing salaries, pensions, stipends	2
• Fighting unemployment	3
• Improving the living standard	4
• Establishing law and order in the country	5
• Improving the economy	6
• Preventing inflation	7
• Creation of new good-paying jobs	8
• Improving the system of medical care	9
• Eliminating poverty	10
• Better relations with Russia	11
• Financial crisis	12
• Fighting corruption	13
• Securing Ukraine's entry into NATO	14
• Reforming the constitution	15
• Reforming the government	16
• Reforming the economy	17
• Protecting civil liberties	18
• COMBINATION/EQUALLY (DNR)	19
• OTHER (DNR)	20
• NONE (DNR)	21
• UNSURE (DNR)	22

Now, thinking about the issue of official language in Ukraine –

5. Would you favor or oppose the government passing a law to make Russian an official second language for Ukraine?

<u>IF CHOICE IS MADE, ASK:</u>	Favor/strongly	1
And do you strongly	Favor/somewhat	2
(Favor/Oppose) or	UNSURE (DNR)	3
somewhat (Favor/Oppose)?	Oppose/somewhat	4
	Oppose/strongly	5

Still thinking about this issue –

6. Would you favor or oppose the government passing a law to allow each individual oblast to decide for themselves if Russian should be made an official second language in that oblast?

<u>IF CHOICE IS MADE, ASK:</u>	Favor/strongly	1
And do you strongly	Favor/somewhat	2
(Favor/Oppose) or	UNSURE (DNR)	3
somewhat (Favor/Oppose)?	Oppose/somewhat	4
	Oppose/strongly	5

Still thinking about things in Ukraine –

7. In your view, is Ukraine now really a democratic and legal state?

<u>IF CHOICE MADE, ASK:</u>	Yes/strongly	1
And do you feel strongly	Yes	2
about that?	UNSURE (DNR)	3
	No	4
	No/strongly	5

Now, thinking about the issue of reform –

8. How important would you say it is to you, personally, that reforms take place in Ukraine? Would you say that this is – (ROTATE, FRONT TO BACK, BACK TO FRONT) -- • extremely important, • very important, • somewhat important, or • not at all important – to you, personally?

Extremely important	1
Very important	2
Somewhat important	3
Not at all important	4
UNSURE/DK (DNR)	5

9. Do you believe that “reforms” have been enacted or taken place since Victory Yanukovich took over as President and a new governing coalition took over control of the Rada?

IF CHOICE MADE, ASK:

And do you feel strongly
about that?

Yes/strongly 1
Yes 2
UNSURE (DNR) 3
No 4
No/strongly 5

Still thinking about the issue of the reforms that have been passed by the Rada since the new coalition took over –

10. Which of the following views on this issue comes closest to your own – **(ROTATE)** –

- The reforms that have passed by the Rada are “real reforms” and will help improve the situation

OR

- The reforms that have been passed by the Rada are not real reforms, and will not do anything to improve the situation.

Real reforms 1
Not real reforms 2
BOTH (DNR) 3
NEITHER (DNR) 4
UNSURE/REFUSED (DNR) 5

Still thinking again about the priorities for the government of the Ukraine –I would like to read you a list of different “reforms” that some people from this part of the Ukraine have said are important for the government to focus on. Please listen as I read the list and tell me which one reform you think is most important. **(READ AND ROTATE ISSUES)**

Q11
MOST
IMPORTANT

- Reforms to social programs to provide more services 1
- Economic reform that will create more good paying jobs 2
- Reforming the judiciary to make it more honest and transparent 3
- Reforms to fight against and reduce corruption 4
- Reforms to the tax code to make it more fair and reasonable 5
- COMBINATION/EQUALLY (DNR) 6
- OTHER (DNR) 7
- NONE (DNR) 8
- UNSURE (DNR) 9

Now, thinking about the most important priorities for reform –

12. Which of the following would you say is most important to you in terms of reforms – **(ROTATE)** –

- Reforms to bring down prices, even if it means fewer jobs

OR

- Reforms to create better jobs that pay more, even if it means prices are higher?

Bring down prices.....	1
Create better jobs	2
BOTH (DNR)	3
NEITHER (DNR)	4
UNSURE/DK (DNR)	5

Exhibit G

From: TAD
Date: April 02, 2012 6:53:45 AM (-07)
To: "Julian Mulvey <jmulvey@devinemulvey.com
Subject: **Fwd: Ukraine**

Attachments:

-----Original Message-----

From: Rick Gates <rgates@dmpint.com>
To: Daniel Rabin <Dan@brightideacreative.com>; Tad Devine <taddevine@aol.com>; Julian Mulvey <julian@julianmulvey.com>
Sent: Mon, Apr 2, 2012 7:02 am
Subject: Ukraine

Gents-

I hope everyone is well. We have once again reached the point in time where we should cast aside all US political work in favor of everyone's most beloved country - Ukraine. Let me know a good time to call each of you so we can discuss further. Paul is looking to be on air by June 1.

My new cell phone is 917 209-7176. Thanks and I look forward to catching up.

Regards,
Rick

From: TAD
Date: April 02, 2012 7:29:28 AM (-07)
To: rgates@dmpint.com
Subject: **Re: Ukraine**

Attachments:

Rick:

Julian and I left a message on your voice mail. We are in our office (202-337-9600) or you can always reach me on my cell (202-441-8893). We look forward to catching up.

Best,
Tad

-----Original Message-----

From: Rick Gates <rgates@dmpint.com>
To: Daniel Rabin <Dan@brightideacreative.com>; Tad Devine <taddevine@aol.com>; Julian Mulvey <julian@julianmulvey.com>
Sent: Mon, Apr 2, 2012 7:02 am
Subject: Ukraine

Gents-

I hope everyone is well. We have once again reached the point in time where we should cast aside all US political work in favor of everyone's most beloved country - Ukraine. Let me know a good time to call each of you so we can discuss further. Paul is looking to be on air by June 1.

My new cell phone is 917 209-7176. Thanks and I look forward to catching up.

Regards,
Rick

From: TAD
Date: April 05, 2012 2:59:28 AM (-07)
To: rgates@dmpint.com
Cc: julian@devinemulvey.com; dan@brightideacreative.com; adam@brightideacreative.com
Subject: **Re: Ukraine**

Attachments:

Rick:

I wanted to get back to you as soon as possible regarding Ukraine. After talking it through with Julian, I regret that we will not be able to work with you on the election this year. Julian and I have very much appreciated the opportunity to work with you, Paul, Phil and others over the years on this project. Good luck with the upcoming campaign, and thank you again for the opportunity to work with you.

Best,
Tad

-----Original Message-----

From: Rick Gates <rgates@dmpint.com>
To: TAD <taddevine@aol.com>
Sent: Tue, Apr 3, 2012 11:24 am
Subject: Re: Ukraine

I am on. Did you guys drop off?

On Apr 3, 2012, at 11:17 AM, "TAD" <taddevine@aol.com> wrote:

Should we do this at 12 noon?

-----Original Message-----

From: Rick Gates <rgates@dmpint.com>
To: TAD <taddevine@aol.com>
Sent: Tue, Apr 3, 2012 11:11 am
Subject: Re: Ukraine

Sorry give me 2 mins to get to a better cell area.

On Apr 2, 2012, at 10:29 AM, "TAD" <taddevine@aol.com> wrote:

Rick:

Julian and I left a message on your voice mail. We are in our office (202-337-9600) or you can always reach me on my cell (202-441-8893). We look forward to catching up.

Best,
Tad

Exhibit H

From: TAD
Date: August 06, 2012 2:46:43 PM (-07)
To: pmanafort@dmpint.com
Subject: **Re: Memo**

Attachments: Memorandum_to_Paul_RE_PoR_campaign-3.doc;

Paul:

Attached is the memo we discussed. Great to talk with you today.
Best,
Tad

-----Original Message-----

From: Paul Manafort <pmanafort@dmpint.com>
To: TAD <taddevine@aol.com>
Sent: Mon, Aug 6, 2012 11:14 am
Subject: Re: Update and Call

What works for you today preferably between 200 and 300pm

Sent from my iPhone

On Aug 6, 2012, at 10:59 AM, "TAD" <taddevine@aol.com> wrote:

Paul:
Great. I will review the memo and charts. Do you want to set a time for the call?

-----Original Message-----

From: Paul Manafort <pmanafort@dmpint.com>
To: TAD <taddevine@aol.com>
Sent: Mon, Aug 6, 2012 10:40 am
Subject: Update and Call

Tad

I decided to write this memo first so that I could send to you to think about before I called you. As you can see the race is similar to the one we had in 2007 when we won the VR elections but lost the govt by a few votes.

Pls think it through from the standpoint of what our media/advertising campaign should be.

I will call later today if that is good for you. Let me know

Paul

From: Tad Devine <taddevine@aol.com>
Date: Friday, August 3, 2012 11:53 AM
To: paul manafort <pmanafort@dmpint.com>
Subject: Re: Time for a call

Paul:
Sure, happy to talk. I am on my cell (202-441-8893). You can call anytime, or I would be happy to call you at your convenience.
Best,
Tad

-----Original Message-----

From: Paul Manafort <pmanafort@drmpint.com>

To: Tad Devine <taddevine@aol.com>

Sent: Fri, Aug 3, 2012 11:23 am

Subject: Time for a call

Tad

Hope all is well and your races are developing nicely.

As you can expect Ukraine is a mud fight about to get really muddy.

I would like to spend a few minutes with you discussing the current state of play in the race in Ukraine and get your thinking on the matter.

Do you have the time? If so, when would be a good time to call and what number

Paul



To: Paul Manafort
From: Tad Devine
RE: PoR Campaign
Date: 8/6/2012

The purpose of this note is to follow up on a telephone conversation regarding the Party of Regions campaign. After reviewing the research, I have a number of thoughts about what can be done in the remainder of the campaign.

Obviously the situation you face in Ukraine this year is very difficult. Nevertheless, there are some actions that could make a difference, and a more favorable message terrain that I think is available to you in the upcoming Rada elections.

Difficulty Feeding Family

The number of people who admit they are having difficulty feeding their family throughout Ukraine today is stunning. This is an issue that needs to be addressed in some meaningful way by the government. If actions can be taken with respect to the cost and availability of food, from price cuts to some form of government assistance (something resembling food stamps) that would make sense given the enormous numbers of individuals who are expressing doubts about whether or not they can feed themselves and their family. The difficulty in obtaining food is likewise reflected in the second most important concern being expressed by voters: controlling rising prices. The fact that those two economic issues score higher than jobs as voter concerns is truly stunning, and the government and the Party of Regions would be well-advised to signal to voters strongly that they hear their concerns on the issue of food costs.

Emergency Job Plan

Similarly, if there is any emergency jobs plan that the government could at least talk about or in some part implement immediately, it would go a long way towards signaling to voters that the government and Party of Regions understand the challenge individuals are facing in terms of their economic situation. The fact that 50% of Ukrainian households are being touched by unemployment is likewise a staggering number that the government would be well advised to address, either through emergency action or through signaling that they understand the situation being faced by people across the country by taking short term action.

Strong and Effective Leadership

At times like this, it's important for a government to look towards its political strengths and to signal to people that it is best equipped to deal with the enormous challenges of joblessness, hunger, and the general despair being



expressed by most people in Ukraine. I would argue for a message that moves towards the strongest ground currently held by the Party of Regions. In reviewing the poll, it seems to me that the dimension of "providing strong leadership" is the one place where the government consistently scores an advantage over the previous government and the current opposition, and it is a dimension that is believable even if the image of some of the PoR leaders has been eroded in recent months and years.

I think a message that says something to this effect is the best possible place for a potentially strong and believable contrast:

In troubled times at home and around the world, we need strong and effective leadership to get things done.

The proof points for the strong and effective leadership that seem most believable and relevant would be the:

1. Euro 2012
2. Sberbank Depositors
3. Growing Social Payments

Those are recent and relevant proof points of the fact that the Party of Regions leaders are strong and effective. But, it is important that a new generation of leaders be presented front and center as the old generation is simply carrying too much political baggage to be effective communicators in this election cycle. This new generation of leaders can cite the recent mantra of achievements - from Euro 2012 to protecting depositors to growing social payments - as proof of the strong and effective leadership the country needs today to deal with its dire economic problems.

Attacking the Opposition

Finally, I think the attacks on the opposition should be straightforward. First, the opposition is the Orange in disguise. This can be accomplished through advertising like morph ads or by showing Orange leaders and opposition leaders saying the same things about the same issues. Also, it's important that if *strong and effective leadership* is adopted as a central positive message, the attacks against the opposition be the mirror opposite: that they are weak and ineffective. This contrast between strong and effective leadership and weak and ineffective leadership should be the heart of the campaign. I would recommend a roughly 3:1 negative to positive ratio in the advertising, but would not move towards a wholly negative campaign since voters have too many options in terms of parties in an election like this and there's a need even in the TOs and certainly the EOs for some fundamental reassurance about the Party of Regions leaders and their priorities.



I hope this is helpful. It was great to talk to you, and I hope we catch up in person soon.

Exhibit I

From: TAD
Date: March 31, 2014 8:59:01 AM (-07)
To: rgates@dmpint.com
Cc: julian@dmlmessage.com; mark@dmlmessage.com
Subject: **Re: Call - Important**

Attachments:

Rick:

I spoke to my partners (Julian who you know and our new partner Mark Longabaugh) and we are ready to take on this project. Let me know when you want to talk. I have reviewed the presentation and we are looking at the other materials as well. I look forward to hearing from you. I am in the office (202-337-9600) or you can always reach me on my cell (202-441-8893).

Best,

Tad

-----Original Message-----

From: Rick Gates <rgates@dmpint.com>
To: Tad Devine <taddevine@aol.com>
Sent: Mon, Mar 31, 2014 9:29 am
Subject: Re: Call - Important

Tad-
Good talking to you. Here are the documents I mentioned to you during our call. I look forward to hearing from you later today.

Regards,
Rick

On 3/31/14, 7:10 AM, "Tad Devine" <taddevine@aol.com> wrote:

>Ok call my cell 202-441-8893

>

>Tad Devine

>Sent from my iPad

>

>On Mar 31, 2014, at 6:56 AM, Rick Gates <rgates@dmpint.com> wrote:

>

>> Tad-

>> I will call you around 730am this morning. If there is another time that
>> works better just let me know. Thanks very much.

>>

>> Rick

>>

>> On 3/31/14, 6:43 AM, "Tad Devine" <taddevine@aol.com> wrote:

>>

>>> Rick:

>>> Just saw your note. I am around today either on my cell (202-441-8893)

>>>or

>>> in my office(202-337-9600).

>>> Best,

>>> Tad

>>>
>>> Tad Devine
>>> Sent from my iPad
>>>
>>> On Mar 30, 2014, at 6:48 PM, Rick Gates <rgates@dmpint.com> wrote:
>>>
>>>> Tad-
>>>> Let me know when you have a brief moment to talk possibly this evening
>>>> if you are available but if not then in the morning. Thanks very much.
>>>>
>>>> Rick
>>

Exhibit J

From: TAD
Date: March 31, 2014 12:18:39 PM (-07)
To: rgates@dmpint.com
Cc: julian@dmlmessage.com; mark@dmlmessage.com
Subject: **Re: Draft Proposal**

Attachments: Consulting_Agreement_Ukraine 2014.docx;

Rick:

Attached please find a draft agreement for our firm to work on the election in Ukraine. This proposal anticipates that we will spend a lot of time between now and the election on the ground in Kiev. Let me know if you need us to make adjustments to the proposal.

As I mentioned, our recent work in Serbia for the new Prime Minister elect, Aleksandar Vucic, has convinced us that a powerful introduction of PP could resonate in Ukraine the way our campaign in Serbia resonated with voters. Our slogan in Serbia was : "A Future to Believe In" , which is probably something that people in Ukraine are looking for and desperate to likewise achieve.

Thank you for reaching out to us. We look forward to talking with you more in the days ahead.

Best,

Tad

-----Original Message-----

From: Rick Gates <rgates@dmpint.com>
To: TAD <taddevine@aol.com>
Cc: julian <julian@dmlmessage.com>; mark <mark@dmlmessage.com>
Sent: Mon, Mar 31, 2014 12:23 pm
Subject: Re: Call - Important

Excellent news – can you talk at 100pm? If not just name the time and we will speak when you are able.

From: Tad Devine <taddevine@aol.com>
Date: Monday, March 31, 2014 at 11:59 AM
To: Rick Gates <rgates@dmpint.com>
Cc: "julian@dmlmessage.com" <julian@dmlmessage.com>, "mark@dmlmessage.com" <mark@dmlmessage.com>
Subject: Re: Call - Important

Rick:

I spoke to my partners (Julian who you know and our new partner Mark Longabaugh) and we are ready to take on this project. Let me know when you want to talk. I have reviewed the presentation and we are looking at the other materials as well. I look forward to hearing from you. I am in the office (202-337-9600) or you can always reach me on my cell (202-441-8893).

Best,

Tad

-----Original Message-----

From: Rick Gates <rgates@dmpint.com>

To: Tad Devine <taddevine@aol.com>

Sent: Mon, Mar 31, 2014 9:29 am

Subject: Re: Call - Important

Tad-

Good talking to you. Here are the documents I mentioned to you during our call. I look forward to hearing from you later today.

Regards,
Rick

On 3/31/14, 7:10 AM, "Tad Devine" <taddevine@aol.com> wrote:

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>>>

>>>> Tad-

>>>> Let me know when you have a brief moment to talk possibly this evening

>>>> if you are available but if not then in the morning. Thanks very much.

>>>>

>>>> Rick

>>>>

DRAFT CONSULTING AGREEMENT - 2014

This Agreement (the "Agreement") is entered into on this 1st day of April 2014 between _____ and Devine Mulvey Longabaugh Inc., herein after: ("Consultant").

The parties hereto agree as follows:

1. *Engagement.* _____ hereby engages Consultant and Consultant hereby agrees to hold himself available to render media and consulting services to _____ for the 2014 Presidential election in Ukraine, upon the terms and conditions hereinafter set forth.

2. *Term.* The term of this Agreement shall begin on the 1st day of April 2014 and shall be in effect through the end of the last round of the Presidential election and all extensions renewable upon mutual agreement. This Agreement may be terminated by either party for any reason prior to the end of its term upon notice of termination to the other party of no less than fifteen (15) days.

3. *Compensation.* As compensation for the media and consulting services rendered by Consultant under this Agreement, _____ shall pay Consultant as follows:

FIRST ROUND ELECTION

For the first round election scheduled for May 25, 2014, _____ shall pay Consultant \$100,000.00/month, to be paid as follows:

\$100,000.00 on April 1, 2014;

\$100,000.00 on May 1, 2014

RUN OFF ELECTION

In the event of a run off election, _____ shall pay Consultant \$25,000.00 per week for each week of the run off election.

SUCCESS FEE

_____ shall pay Consultant a success fee of \$50,000 (fifty thousand dollars) upon the candidate being certified as winning the Presidential contest.

It is agreed that the Consultant is an independent contractor and accordingly, compensation shall be payable without deduction, including no deduction for federal income, social security, or state income taxes.

4. *Expenses.* _____ shall reimburse Consultant for all documented out-of-pocket expenses related to work in conjunction with this contract during the effective period of this agreement. Expenses shall include but not be limited to business class/first class airfare, lodging, telephone, postage, and taxi/car transportation. _____'s obligation to reimburse Consultant pursuant to this subparagraph shall be subject to the presentation to _____ by Consultant of an itemized account of such expenditures, together with supporting receipts. For the purposes of air travel, Consultant shall use the specific travel routes designated by _____, and Consultant shall work with _____ to secure all travel reservations. Any exception to the travel requirement must be approved by _____ prior to the agreed date of travel.

Scope of Services. Consultant shall hold itself available to render, and shall render to _____ media services. Consultant will provide deliverables in each area according to a plan agreed to by _____. The principal responsibilities of Consultant shall be:

- Provide media services including but not limited to the production of television and radio advertisements to include direct involvement in the planning, oversight, editing and finalization of television and radio advertisements, and the drafting of all scripts and other preparatory material as directed by ____.
- Provide personnel to oversee production of all advertisements.
- Participation in the strategy and planning of the media campaign for the Presidential election.
- Travel to Ukraine as directed by ____ in order to complete the scope of work.
- Other tasks as assigned by ____ including speechwriting or other communications assistance.

6. ____'s *Responsibility*. ____ is responsible for the accuracy and completeness of the information that it provides to the Consultant concerning _____. ____ agrees to indemnify and hold harmless the Consultant, its affiliates and their respective officers, directors, employees, agents and controlling persons (collectively, the "Indemnified Parties"), from and against any losses, claims, damages, liabilities and expenses, joint or several related to or arising in any manner out of any services rendered to ____ under this Agreement (the "Services") and will promptly reimburse the Indemnified Parties for all expenses (including reasonable fees and expenses of legal counsel) as incurred in connection with the investigation of, preparation for, or defense of, any pending or threatened claim related to or arising in any manner out of the Services, or any action or proceeding arising there from (collectively, "Proceedings"), whether or not such Indemnified Party is a formal party to any such Proceeding. Notwithstanding the foregoing, ____ shall not be liable for any losses, claims, damages, liabilities or expenses that a court of competent jurisdiction shall have determined by final judgment resulted solely from the gross negligence or willful misconduct of an Indemnified Party. This paragraph shall survive the termination of this Agreement.

7. *Confidentiality* – It is anticipated that during the term of this Contract, the Consultant will be provided with information of a proprietary and confidential nature by ____ and its client. To maintain the confidentiality of such information, the Consultant agrees:

- (a) Not to disclose confidential information to third parties, or to publish or electronically post such information, unless authorized to do so, in writing, by _____;
- (b) Not to make any reproductions, disclosure, or use of confidential information except in the performance of the Consultant's obligations under this Contract or in accordance with written authorization received by _____.
- (c) To refrain from comment in response to media inquiries and to refer such inquiries to _____ corporate headquarters.

8. *Notice*. Any notice required or permitted to be given hereunder shall be sufficient if in writing and if sent by registered or certified mail, postage prepaid, addressed as set forth on the signature page of this Agreement.

9. *Governing Law*. This Agreement shall be governed by the laws of _____, both as to interpretation and performance. It is agreed that any dispute under this Agreement shall be resolved solely and exclusively by means of arbitration to be conducted in Washington DC in accordance with the rules of the American Arbitration Association.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the Parties hereto, by their respective and duly authorized officers, have hereunto set their names as of the date first above written:

By: _____
Paul J. Manafort

Devine Mulvey Longabaugh, Inc.
2141 Wisconsin Ave., N.W.
Suite H
Washington, DC 20007

By: _____
Tad Devine, President

Exhibit K

From: TAD
Date: June 09, 2014 8:08:13 PM (-07)
To: rgates@dmpint.com
Bcc: anne@dmlmessage.com; julian@dmlmessage.com; mark@dmlmessage.com
Subject: **Re: Kyiv**

Attachments:

Rick:

OK. My rate for something like this would be \$10,000/day, including travel days. So if you want me to leave the US on Monday 6/16 and return on Friday 6/20 that would be 5 days at \$10G/day for \$50,000.00. You would need to make the travel arrangements, and transfer the \$50G before the trip. If you want me to come on Monday and leave Thursday it would be \$40G. Let me know. I will be in RI so I can fly out of NY or Boston, not DC. I will need to spend some time going through the materials before hand but that will be included in the day rate, not a separate charge. Let me know if that works for you.

Best,
Tad

-----Original Message-----

From: Rick Gates <rgates@dmpint.com>
To: TAD <taddevine@aol.com>
Sent: Mon, Jun 9, 2014 9:28 pm
Subject: Re: Kyiv

Tad-

This is great. In terms of comp I suggest we come up with a daily rate if that works for you and then just calculate the rate out. If you have a better idea let me know. KK or Vlad Steponov will likely be the translator and we will definitely have a video camera and anything else you need. Thanks very much.

From: Tad Devine <taddevine@aol.com>
Date: Friday, June 6, 2014 at 11:14 AM
To: Mac Computer <rgates@dmpint.com>
Cc: "anne@dmlmessage.com" <anne@dmlmessage.com>
Subject: Re: Kyiv

Rick:

I can make it that week. What are you thinking in terms of compensation? I will need a good translator for all this, and it would be helpful to have a video camera and TV for playback for my sessions with individuals.
Tad

-----Original Message-----

From: Rick Gates <rgates@dmpint.com>
To: Tad Devine <taddevine@aol.com>
Sent: Fri, Jun 6, 2014 11:08 am
Subject: Kyiv

Tad-

The goals for your visit would be to work with some of the new founders of the party to help them with:

1. Messaging on the new party (message development although I will be sending you a bunch of this in the next few days).
2. Media training (speaking to cameras, live audiences, etc)
3. Speech (diction, demeanor, and presentation)

Ideally, we would have you come out for a few days the week of June 14th leading up to the new Party Congress which is on June 21st. Please let me know if there are a few dates that week that work. Thanks.

Exhibit L

From: Tad Devine
Date: June 16, 2014 3:18:03 AM (-07)
To: K. Kilimnik
Cc: Rick Gates; Anne Tully
Bcc: Tad Devine
Subject: **Re: Ukraine Trip**

Attachments:

Thanks

Sent from my iPhone

> On Jun 16, 2014, at 1:36 AM, "K. Kilimnik" wrote:
>
> Tad,
>
> You are staying at the Hyatt. I will send confirmation as separate email. You will be met upon your arrival like in the past.
>
>> 16 июня 2014 г., в 5:26, "Tad Devine" написал(а):
>>
>> Thanks Rick. I will review the materials in the morning. Will someone meet me when I land to help me through immigration as they have in the past? Also do you have the details of where I will be staying?
>> I look forward to seeing KK when I get there.
>> Thanks,
>> Tad
>>
>> Tad Devine
>> Sent from my iPad
>>
>>> On Jun 15, 2014, at 10:16 PM, Rick Gates wrote:
>>>
>>> Tad-
>>> Happy Father's Day to you. I hope you had a good day in Boston. I wanted to outline several key items based on various conversations we have had, and also those I have had with KK. Also, I want to loop you in with KK so he can pass any other relevant material to you as well as any logistical information including schedule, etc.
>>>
>>> As you are aware we are in the process of building a new party, one that is national in scope and can appeal to more than just potential supporters in the South and East.
>>> The major themes of the party are to unify the country, eradicate corruption, and rebuild the economy so that all can prosper.
>>>
>>> In preparation for the June 21st inaugural party congress event, the goals of your visit are crucial to the development of the event and the VIP speakers. As we discussed the goals are to:
>>> 1. Help specific members (identified by KK) with message strategy and development
>>> 2. Provide media training for specific members of the leadership and regional VIPs
>>> 3. Assist in specific development efforts of the new party based on your experiences

>>>

>>> I am attaching several document which will help with the goals above. Please review and let me know if you have any questions. The documents include:

>>> 1. A working draft of the new party's platform, core positions, etc. (this is confidential so please keep to yourself)

>>> 2. A recent PPT on the basis for the rationale for a new party

>>> 3. Key messages and TPs to be used after the party congress. These messages are in development based on the platform and other information available at this time.

>>>

>>> Hopefully this will provide some useful information for your trip. Please let me or KK know if you have any questions. Also, please let KK what you might need while you are on the ground. I know you have requested a video camera to tape practice sessions of the speakers. But if there is anything else that is needed please put a list together so preparations can be made before you arrive.

>>>

>>> Regards,

>>> Rick

>>>

>>>

>>>

>>> <140609 UKR Platform of New Party FINAL.docx>

>>> <140512 UKR New Party PPT FINAL.pptx>

>>> <140615 UKR New Party Messages and Talking Points.docx>

From: Tad Devine
 Date: June 17, 2014 4:46:44 AM (-07)
 To: K. Kilimnik
 Bcc: Tad Devine
 Subject: **Re: Ukraine Trip**

Attachments:

Hi KK. Just landed in Kiev and was whisked through immigration and customs. Very smooth. Heading to the hotel. I will await word from you as to the schedule.
 Tad

Sent from my iPhone

> On Jun 16, 2014, at 8:36 AM, "K. Kilimnik" wrote:
 >
 > Tad,
 >
 > You are staying at the Hyatt. I will send confirmation as separate email. You will be met upon your arrival like in the past.
 >
 >> 16 июня 2014 г., в 5:26, "Tad Devine" написал(а):
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 >> Thanks Rick. I will review the materials in the morning. Will someone meet me when I land to help me through immigration as they have in the past? Also do you have the details of where I will be staying?
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>>> <140615 UKR New Party Messages and Talking Points.docx>

Exhibit M

From: TAD
Date: June 19, 2014 11:06:32 AM (-07)
To: kkilimnik@dmpint.com
Subject: **Re: Can u resend the talking points**

Attachments:

here they are

Messages and Talking Points

(For interviews during and after the Party Congress)

The following are key messages and talking points that are recommended for use during and after the Party Congress. These TPs should be used by speakers, VIPs and others.

A FRESH START FOR UKRAINE/MAKE UKRAINE WORK AGAIN

The new Party of Development represents a *fresh start for Ukraine*, and an opportunity for people who want to build a better future to come together as a political force and as a nation to *make Ukraine work again*.

UNITY/TRANSPARENCY/PROSPERITY

The focus of the new Party will be on the core issues that people care about – *unifying* our country; ending corruption through unprecedented *transparency* in government; and returning economic *prosperity* to Ukraine.

- The results from the recent Presidential election were significant. It signaled major changes occurring in Ukraine today. But a single election of an individual is not enough to overcome the complex and regional challenges facing the country today.
- Ukraine is a markedly different nation today than the demographics of the Ukraine that existed at the beginning of independence:
 1. Generations of leaders trained and educated by the Soviet system are being replaced by younger people who are more western, better educated, more mobile, and connected to the world and one another through new technologies
 2. The young generations are moving into the new majority and becoming active in politics and civil life
 3. The old ways of the past are quickly fading
 4. Those who don't recognize this trend will become increasingly irrelevant
- With the new majority rising, political leaders and new parties must emerge to represent the needs of the people
- Today the SE is without a voice in Kyiv – this is why the government is having trouble ending the crisis there:
 1. The criminals extorting society represent a small part of the SE
 2. The problem is no unified political party or leader exists to lead the SE in responding to the crisis
 3. People of the SE are really not different from people of other sections of Ukraine as far as what they want from their leaders
 4. Peace, unity, jobs, ability to live their lives without corruption or police abuse are key desires of all voters (not just those in the SE)

5. An opportunity exists for a new party to emerge to represent these interests

- A new national political force is needed to represent the millions of voters who deserve a better life.
 - The Party of Development supports those principles that are so important to voters across our country. We want *unity*, an *end to corruption* and a *better economy*.
 - Our party will be ideologically based but will focus on an economic platform. The economic strategy will be driving by a simple principle – destroying corruption is the only path to stability and economic growth.
 - We will build the Party on an ideological and substantive foundation and it will be guided by principles and values, not individuals and personalities, so there is no danger of leaders becoming more important than the Party's standards.
 - Our mission is to create a new political force built on centrist and pragmatic values, that is inclusive of all citizens of Ukraine who long for peace, stability, democratic freedoms and a better quality of life.
 - Our Party will be national and will have appeal to those in the SE and in the West and Center:
1. We want one Ukraine – that is united, independent and free
 2. We want an end to corruption in all of its forms and to prevent police abuse
 3. We want businesses to operate and thrive without undue government interference
 4. We will work to create opportunities and good jobs to improve the quality of life for our citizens
 5. We will protect those that cannot be protected and care for them
 6. We will protect the Russian culture as Ukrainians
 7. We will empower a new generation of leadership
 8. We will work to give Ukraine a fresh start and build a better future for all

-----Original Message-----

From: K. Kilimnik <kkilimnik@dmpint.com>
To: TAD <taddevine@aol.com>
Sent: Thu, Jun 19, 2014 8:43 pm
Subject: Can u resend the talking points

You gave me today?

Thanks

K

Exhibit N



TO: Davis Manafort
FR: Devine Mulvey & Rabin Strasberg
RE: 2010 Message Strategy & Proposal
DT: July 12, 2010

The purpose of this memo is to:

- 1) Draft a message for the upcoming elections to be held on October 31st of this year
- 2) Recommend a draft TV and radio media plan
- 3) Propose terms for engagement

We appreciate Davis Manafort asking for a proposal to advise on the upcoming elections and look forward to the possibility of another campaign.

OVERVIEW:

We are very pleased to note that the numbers found in the latest polling are remarkably robust and generally very positive. Yanukovich has emerged from the relatively close outcome of the February election as the country's most popular leader (67/25% favorable/unfavorable) while his chief rival's approvals have fallen into tatters (22/68% favorable/unfavorable). A majority of 64% disapprove of the actions of the opposition, while 50% of voters believe the country is on the right track. This is a remarkable achievement for the new President. The "honeymoon is on" as Dave Sackett noted. We must take advantage of the positive feelings the new President has inspired and while memories of the failed Orange years are still fresh in the minds of so many (73% agree the Orange "have proven can not be effective in improving people's lives").



SHORT MESSAGE STATEMENT:

For five years Orange had their time and failed you.

Now things are beginning to work again. To move forward local and national leaders must stop bickering and start working together to improve lives and help protect and create jobs.

Only the Party of Regions can move us forward.

LONG MESSAGE STATEMENT:

For five years the opposition controlled the government at the local and national level and not only did they fail to improve the economy, they destroyed it.

Now things are beginning to work again.

But to move Ukraine ahead and improve people's lives, we need government at the local and national level to work together to bring jobs here and deliver local services.

We need results and new leaders who will fight for your job instead of fighting with each other.

The Party of Regions is ready to serve the people in every region, and make government work for you. The Party of Regions—the best way to improve your life and get Ukraine back to work.



MEDIA PLAN: 8 WEEK CAMPAIGN

Election date is set for October 31st, 2010.

Given budget restraints, the traditional August holidays in Ukraine, and our estimates of opponents' resource strength, we recommend an eight-week media campaign starting on September 1st. We recommend running 500 points a week and building to approximately 650 points a week by the close of the campaign.

Under this plan the campaign would produce approximately 4 TV and radio ads, with each spot running for two weeks and about a 1000 points total.

Filming & Timeline:

Once engaged the Media Team would prepare scripts, a message plan, and shoot memos for Davis Manafort's approval. Within the bounds of our resources we strongly recommend acquiring new footage for the elections. Once scripts are approved we would draft shoot memos. The Ukrainian team would go into the field and shoot the required footage, and deliver the images to the edit studio for cutting. We would aim to have a total of two shoots with the primary goal of acquiring images representative of the entire country.

Exhibit O



TO: Davis Manafort
FR: Devine Mulvey & Rabin Strasberg
RE: 2010 Message Strategy & Proposal
DT: July 12, 2010

The purpose of this memo is to:

- 1) Draft a message for the upcoming elections to be held on October 31st of this year
- 2) Recommend a draft TV and radio media plan
- 3) Propose terms for engagement

We appreciate Davis Manafort asking for a proposal to advise on the upcoming elections and look forward to the possibility of another campaign.

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ENGAGEMENT:

The timing of the election is tricky given domestic obligations, but we appreciate the offer to submit a proposal and value our relationship with Davis Manafort.

We propose the following:

Option 1:

\$40,000 a month retainer starting August 1 and continuing through October 31.
Includes two 5-day trips to Ukraine.

Success bonus: \$40,000.

Option 2:

\$25,000 a month retainer starting August.
No trips to Ukraine. Production managed and supervised remotely.

Success bonus: \$25,000.

We look forward to talking more about this campaign.

Exhibit P

DEVINE MULVEY

MEDIA MESSAGE

CLIENT: Party of Regions
TITLE: Every Level V4
TRT: 30
DATE: 09/09/10

VIDEO	AUDIO
Reference: Mad Men Intro.	Narrator:
Cut-out: Man looks stable, but in fact he is falling.	The Orange held power at every level And they failed.
Man falling through air – skyline of “Lost Jobs”, “Chaos in Parliament”, and “Weak President.”	Lost jobs Chaos in Parliament And a weak President.
Splashes of Orange.	They had all the power and made things worse.
Man “higher prices”	Their failures then...caused high prices today.
Man falls to ground, and starts walking.	Why should we believe that anything has changed?
Man turns into video. Construction site. Health care. Settings.	Only the Party of Regions can work with every level of government to create and protect jobs and improve local services.
3D – Party of Regions. Building the country.	The Party that builds The Party of Regions.

Exhibit Q

To: Paul Manafort
Rick Gates
Fr: Dan Rabin
Adam Strasberg
Date: April 16, 2012
RE: Ukraine Media

The purpose of this memo is to outline the initial stages of the media campaign for the 2012 Ukrainian Parliamentary elections. This memo covers the "social advertising" part of the campaign which runs through the end of the summer -- only production on flights one and two are covered in this memo. Once we begin making spots, we can create additional travel and production schedules for the rest of the social ads.

This memo is meant to give some initial thoughts and suggestions on the best way to move forward with ad production. Because of the timing with the US elections, our travel schedules will be very tight and we want to make the most of our time on the ground.

Initial Working Trip:

Depart... April 23
In Kyiv... April 24-26
Return... April 27

As in past years, the initial trip is to assess the current production capabilities. Although no ad production will take place, we will meet with all of the players and make sure that the team is ready to go on day one:

- Ensure all elements are in place for the start of production
- Review footage on hand and make sure older footage is accessible
- Compile initial list of images to be acquired
- Have ground team begin assembling footage library.
- Over see process of assembly and footage access

The goal is to complete this trip prior to the May 1-9 Ukrainian holiday.

Working trips throughout the campaign:

Exhibit R

TO: KONSTANTIN KILIMNIK
CC: PJM
RG
FROM: DAN RABIN/ADAM STRASBERG
RE: MEETING AGENDA
DATE: APRIL 19, 2012

INTRODUCTION

As in past years, the initial trip to Kyiv is to assess the current production capabilities. Although no ad production will take place, we will meet with all of the players and make sure that the team is ready to go on day one:

- Ensure all elements are in place for the start of production
- Review footage on hand and make sure older footage is accessible
- Compile initial list of images to be acquired
- Have ground team begin assembling footage library.
- Over see process of assembly and footage access

The goal is to complete this trip prior to the May 1-9 Ukrainian holiday.

Depart... April 23
Meetings in Kyiv... April 24-26
Return... April 27

If the goal is to have ads ready to air at the end of May, it is vital that the production process begin immediately. This includes contacting and securing the film crews, the production facilities and the different personnel necessary to the process of creating a media campaign

PRODUCTION CAPACITY

In the past two campaigns, we have worked very closely with Dmitri Danilov (contact: danilov@thecoffeeost.com.ua) and his team at Coffee House Post to help in the creation of the ads. Dmitri was in charge of the edit rooms, the graphics, music, voice-overs and other elements needed for ad creation.

In the past, the Party of Regions has contacted and contracted them directly and negotiated the deal. They are creative, fast and smart and a good addition to our

team. Having been through two political seasons, they understand the process and we strongly recommend adding them to the team for the 2012 campaign media.

Once they are contacted, they will need to come to an agreement with the POR about pricing for the next six months of production. We should meet with them next week to talk about capacity, the footage library, re-loading all existing POR footage, filming and acquiring stock images.

EXISTING STOCK FOOTGE

Ads will be created out of three elements: existing POR footage, newly filmed images and acquired stock images.

If we have new or easier access to existing footage catalogs, we should move quickly to identify the gatekeepers to those image banks and meet with them next week. Upon meeting with footage representatives, we will need to introduce the Coffee Post edit team, who will be responsible for screening through footage from our request lists and bringing it back to the edit room for use in ads.

FILMING B-ROLL FOOTAGE

In the past we used the Coffee House production team as well as Sergei and his team from the network (they worked for Viktoria) to film footage for new ads. We recommend doing the same for the 2012 elections.

For images from the Oblasts (Broll of people), images from POR events around the nation, and images of POR leader we should use Sergei's team. For shooting in Kyiv and getting images for concept ads, we should use the Coffee Post team. A meeting with both teams will be necessary to make sure we have a process in place to get crews in the field as quickly as possible when we need new footage.

We expect that over the next two months the POR will host various events in and around the target Oblasts. Ideally, we can have the camera crew attend some of these with a dedicated cameraman filming solely for our purposes. In the past we have had problems getting footage from the POR cameraman (Vasily) who films all of the events—his time was simply maxed out and he did not have the bandwidth to duplicate everything he filmed. Having our own people at the events should ensure that we quickly get the exact images we need.

When relying on the Party for footage, it should be standard operating procedure that all images shot by the Party of Regions cameraman gets automatically duplicated and sent to the edit facility. In past campaigns, we needed to submit request lists that took days, sometimes weeks for them to review and compile. Once we establish that standard operating procedure, we can meet with the cameraman to talk about images and shots

POR CONTACT AND PROCEDURES

We should talk about the right timing for meeting with members of the POR HQ. We may want to consider an early visit to meet with Dmidko, Goncharenko and Bondarenko (if they are still the right players). Part of the early conversation should be about process. Who ads and scripts will go to for approval and in what order, where finished ads should go upon completion, and who will approve budgets and work with the studio for payment.

SUMMARY AND ACTION LIST

This is much to accomplish over the course of our time on the ground, but should be able to complete everything on the list and get the production elements in order, with the goal of beginning editing by the second week of May.

- Contact Dimitri at Coffee House Post about working together for 2012
- Set up meeting #1 with Coffee House for Tuesday afternoon
- Set up meeting #2 with TV station reps who control stock footage libraries
- Set up meeting #3 with Sergei, the director (Vlad knows him) about filming new footage and events
- Set up meeting #4 (if necessary) with any POR HQ people that we may need to reach out to including Bonderenko, Dmidko and Goncharenko

ADDENDUM

SOCIAL CAMPAIGN MESSAGE

Upon taking office, it became apparent that the Party of Regions inherited a bigger mess than anyone could have imagined. The financial hole the previous government dug for Ukraine was deeper and wider than the previous government had revealed. Because of the catastrophic failures of Tymoshenko and her fellow Orange leaders, it has taken longer than the POR planned to dig out from under the financial crisis.

Yulia Tymoshenko and the failed Orange Revolution leaders took a bad situation and made it worse. Their lack of leadership, skill and foresight sunk Ukraine into a deep financial hole, and ordinary Ukrainians had to suffer the consequences. Instead of anticipating the global recession or working to lessen its effects on the country, Tymoshenko and her cronies made weak decisions and struck bad deals that would bury the country.

The gas deal struck by the former government was so detrimental to the economy of Ukraine that it has taken money from the pockets of Ukrainian families and food from their table. Money that should have gone to the people was going straight to Gazprom. Money for pension increases went to Gazprom. Money for young families went to Gazprom. Money for veterans went to Gazprom. Tymoshenko's deal has been a financial backbreaker for the nation.

In spite of the challenges they have faced, the Party of Regions has delivered much needed stability and brought the country back from the brink of collapse caused by Orange's failed leadership and bad deals.

Now that the economy is stabilized, the groundwork has been laid to begin much needed reforms. Even at this early stage, people are beginning to feel the positive effects as the POR early efforts are bearing fruit. As the Party of Regions leads Ukraine out of the Orange recession more and more people will benefit from the new social reforms.

INITIAL STOCK FOOTAGE LIST

This is an initial list of images that we will need for the social campaign ads. We will add to the list upon completion of scripts, but in the meantime we should acquire as many of these images as possible from existing POR footage or from stock footage sources. If needed we will create a shoot memo so we can budget and film images that do not exist.

Images of people:

Pensioners

Families with young children

Young working men and women

Older working men and women

Unemployed men and women

Veterans

University students

Images of places:

Gazprom images

Images of the gas lines that run through Ukraine

Recession images:

Food prices at markets

Lines at banks

Businesses closed

Images of the 2012 soccer construction

Exhibit S

To: PJM
CC: KK, RG, VS
FR: DR/AS
DA: April 24, 2012

This evening we wrapped up our meetings in Kyiv. This memo is a summary of what we accomplished, what still needs to be done, and the current state of the media production.

The post-production studio was tasked with re-loading all of the footage from previous campaigns into their edit system to be used as soon as possible in new ads. They are also in close contact with Maxim Denk at Inter and are ready to acquire any additional stock images that we may need. They contacted the Part Of Regions about engaging on the project and spoke Valarie Onopriekno in Elena Bonderenko's office. He was expecting their call and they are working out the details of their contract.

We met with Maxim Denk from Inter who is ready to help however he can. He will be in direct contact with the studio personnel when we need stock footage and will most likely be our point of contact when we film new Broll.

Igor Shavolov offered up his arsenal of production services to help our cause. The studio we have used in the past is our best choice to edit the ad campaign, but we will be pushing their bandwidth in September and October. In the coming months we may want to give serious consideration to using Shavalov's team to help produce the 30:00 video and the corresponding cut downs. If we take that path, our team would write and oversee the process and his team can execute the production plan. Not a decision that needs to be made now, but we wanted to put it out there for consideration. We wrote two memos about footage for the social ads. The first memo is for a new Broll shoot and the second if for stock images that need to be acquired. Both memos were translated and delivered to Maxim Denk of inter and Dmitri Danilov at the studio. KK is going to deliver the memos to Shavolov as well.

On Thursday we had a long and productive meeting with Demidko and Goncharenko at HQ. Konstantin's summary does a great job of wrapping up the conversation, but there are a few media specific items that I wanted to summarize here:

- I. We were pressed into the conversation about slogan. As KK wrote, VD and AG were pre-sold on "from stability to prosperity" and said that it tested very well in their focus groups. Adam and I can help brainstorm additional slogans if you think it is necessary.
- II. We talked about ad approval in the hope that we could map out a more efficient process now, so that it does not have to be done on the fly:
 - A. Discuss each wave of advertising with VD and DG and come to consensus on message
 - B. Scripts go to VD and DG for approval, after which they will deliver to BVK for his signoff
 - C. They would like to see rough cuts of the ads in progress.
NOTE: I think this would be a mistake as it is easier to revise completed ads than it is to spend a half a day having them approve unfinished spots and trying to explain how the completed ad will look with graphics, color correction et al
 - D. VD and AG will screen final ads and make revision recommendations. Upon their approval, the final ad will go to BVK for his final sign off

There was no mention of any other approvals necessary, but I cannot imagine we will be let off that easy. At a minimum each ad and script should be seen by the lawyer as early in the process as possible to ensure legality of content.

- III. As KK mentioned in his memo, Demidko needs to ID the three waves of campaign advertising. We talked about the waves, but I did not want to commit to talking about a strategy, especially since we do not have the research back yet and have not thoroughly discussed it.
- IV. Demidko insisted on discussing themes for ads 1 and 2. Ad 1 was given the theme "Destroyed country by the Orange." Ad 2 was themed "Why it took so long for stability to arrive." They also wanted us to commit to percentages of positive and negative in each ad, but I think that they just wanted to understand how the ads would look and once they see scripts they will feel better about the process.

Overall the meeting went very well. It was good to break bread with the ideology team and get their input into the process. The schedule has time built into the script approval process for revisions and re-writes based on their feedback.

Below is a revised social advertising schedule along with a full summer production schedule, which takes us through the first 8 ads of the campaign. Demidko wants to be on air a week earlier than anticipated, but he also wants 14 day flights in July, which is probably a good idea since viewership goes way down in July/August.

On Monday, we will begin sketching out scripts for Flights 1 and 2. We will also be in daily contact with KK and Vlad about the progress on the ground and where we are in the process.

Summer "Social Advertising" Schedule

On air: May 22 2012-September 3
Total ads: 8

Flight 1

On air May 23-June 1 (10 days)

Flight 2

On air June 2-11 (10 days)

Flight 3

On air June 12-21 (10 days)

Flight 4

On air June 22-July 3 (12 days)

Flight 5

July 4-18 (15 days)

Flight 6

July 19-August 2 (15 days)

Flight 7

August 3-August 19 (17 days)

Flight 8

August 20-September 2 (14 days)

September 3

Begin Dual Track. Schedule TBD

Flight 1 & Flight 2 Production Timeline

Flight 1 on air May 22-May 31 (10 days)

Flight 2 on air June 1-10 (10 days)

Ad 1 and Ad 2 scripts developed and finalized **May 1-May 3**

Ad 1 and Ad 2 scripts delivered to Demidko **May 4**

Ad 1 and Ad 2 team begins compiling images **May 7**

Ad 1 and Ad 2 studio begins to assemble ads **May 8-May 11**

Arrive in Kiev May 14

Ad 1 and Ad 2 edit ON GROUND edit with team **May 14-May 16**

Ad 1 and Ad 2 ON GROUND approvals and revisions **May 17**

Ad 1 and Ad 2 ON GROUND revisions and final approvals **May 18**

Leave Kiev May 19

Ad 1 delivered for air **May 21**

Ad 1 on air **May 23**

Ad 2 delivered for air **May 30**

Ad 2 on air **June 1**

Flight 3 & Flight 4 Production Timeline

Flight 3 On air June 12-21 (10 days)

Flight 4 On air June 22-July 3 (12 days)

Ad 3 and Ad 4 scripts developed and finalized **May 21-May 23**

Ad 3 and Ad 4 scripts delivered to Demidko **May 24**

Ad 3 and Ad 4 team begins compiling images **May 25**

Ad 3 and Ad 4 studio begins to assemble ads **May 28-June 1**

Arrive in Kiev June 4

Ad 3 and Ad 4 edit ON GROUND edit with team **June 4-June 6**

Ad 3 and Ad 4 ON GROUND approvals and revisions **June 7**

Ad 3 and Ad 4 ON GROUND revisions and final approvals **June 8**

Leave Kiev June 9

Ad 3 delivered for air **June 8**

Ad 3 on air **June 12**

Ad 4 delivered for air **June 19**

Ad 4 on air **June 22**

Flight 5 & Flight 6 Production Timeline

Flight 5 July 4-18 (15 days)

Flight 6 July 19-August 2 (15 days)

Ad 3 and Ad 4 scripts developed and finalized **June 11-June 14**
Ad 3 and Ad 4 scripts delivered to Demidko **June 15**
Ad 3 and Ad 4 studio begins to assemble ads **June 18-June 22**

Arrive in Kiev June 25

Ad 5 and Ad 6 edit ON GROUND edit with team **June 25-June 27**
Ad 5 and Ad 6 ON GROUND approvals and revisions **June 28**
Ad 5 and Ad 6 ON GROUND revisions and final approvals **June 29**
Leave Kiev June 30

Ad 5 delivered for air **July 2**
Ad 5 on air **July 4**
Ad 6 delivered for air **June 17**
Ad 6 on air **July 19**

Flight 7 & Flight 8 Production Timeline

Flight 7 August 3-August 19 (17 days)
Flight 8 August 20-September 2 (14 days)

Ad 7 and Ad 8 scripts developed and finalized **July 08-July 11**
Ad 7 and Ad 8 scripts delivered to Demidko **June 12**
Ad 7 and Ad 8 studio begins to assemble ads **July 16-July 20**

Arrive in Kiev July 23

Ad 7 and Ad 8 edit ON GROUND edit with team **July 23-July 25**
Ad 7 and Ad 8 ON GROUND approvals and revisions **July 26**
Ad 7 and Ad 8 ON GROUND revisions and final approvals **July 27**
Leave Kiev July 28

Ad 7 delivered for air **August 1**
Ad 7 on air **August 3**
Ad 8 delivered for air **August 15**
Ad 8 on air **August 20**

Exhibit T

From: K. Kilimnik <kkilimnik@dmpint.com>
To: info@tolmach.com <info@tolmach.com>;
vlad.tolmach@gmail.com <vlad.tolmach@gmail.com>
Cc:
Bcc:
Subject: Fw: Euro 2012 Scripts
Date: Wed May 02 2012 22:55:55 EDT
Attachments: Dream.docx
Spirit.docx
We are Ukraine.docx

Vovchik, guten morgen

Kak dumaesh, smozhesh etu biaku s devami za segodnia perevesti?

Spasib

K

From: Paul Manafort
Sent: Wednesday, May 02, 2012 04:05 PM
To: K. Kilimnik
Subject: FW: Euro 2012 Scripts

K

I like these spots. See if we can get shavalov to go with them.

From: Adam Strasberg <adam@rabinstrasberg.com>
Date: Wed, 2 May 2012 15:51:20 -0500
To: Tony Fabrizio <tony.fabrizio@fabmac.com>
Cc: Paul Manafort <pmanafort@dmpint.com>, Daniel Rabin <dan@rabinstrasberg.com>, Konstantin Kilimnik <kkilimnik@dmpint.com>, Rick Gates <rgates@dmpint.com>, Bob Ward <bob.ward@fabrizioward.com>
Subject: Re: Euro 2012 Scripts

Paul,

Went back to the drawing board on these spots based on your comments.

These spots could be in VFY's voice or not. He could appear as one of closeups in the ad or not, depending on the politics of the situation.

Adam/Dan

On May 2, 2012, at 4:26 PM, Tony Fabrizio wrote:

Paul:

I go back to a comment I made before and that is if we are going to talk about "making progress" in the campaign, why not tee it up with these ads now using the accomplishments for the UEFA tournament as examples of progress? Then come back with the campaign and build on that "progress" brand.

Tony Fabrizio
Fabrizio, McLaughlin & Associates
www.fabmac.com
703-684-4510 -- Office
703-739-0664 -- Fax

From: Paul Manafort <pmanafort@dmpint.com>
To: Daniel Rabin <dan@rabinstrasberg.com>, Adam Strasberg <adam@rabinstrasberg.com>
Cc: "K. Kilimnik" <kkilimnik@dmpint.com>, Rick Gates <rgates@dmpint.com>, Anthony Fabrizio <tony.fabrizio@fabmac.com>, Robert Ward <bob.ward@fabrizioward.com>
Subject: FW: Euro 2012 Scripts

Dan

These draft spots are more political than uplifting. It may be all we can pull off.
Since these are not campaign spots, I think we need to be careful. The message is the feel good message not the "we deserve credit" political message.
It is more like the old 'morning in america' spots in 1984 that was built on the strength of the country and people and hope – in this case – accomplishment of getting Ukr ready.
Given that Merkel is trying to politicize the UEFA boycott, ideally the spots are the antidote meaning we make the tournament about Ukraine the country and people. The spots highlight this theme and the use of VY is to make the point that "WE DID IT" and now enjoy it.
P

From: Daniel Rabin <dan@rabinstrasberg.com>
To: Paul Manafort <pmanafort@dmpint.com>
Cc: Konstantin Kilimnik <kkilimnik@dmpint.com>, Adam Strasberg <adam@rabinstrasberg.com>, Rick Gates <rgates@dmpint.com>
Subject: Re: Euro 2012 Scripts

Take a look at the enclosed revisions which incorporate the comments in your email along with the concepts laid out in the memo. Considerably less political.

Each of these spots is very different:
Opens with a VFY welcome to the games ad
During the games is a testimonial spot
Post games is a VFY closing ad

I agree, the images are very positive, upbeat optimistic. Once we have script lock, I will add a video column that specifically lays out the shots.

Let us know your thoughts.

On May 2, 2012, at 8:38 AM, Paul Manafort wrote:

Dan

This is too much of a political ad.

We need something less obvious. Message should be mostly uplifting, other than claim some said it was impossible. Images should be rapid fire images of a stadium or bridge or facility for UEFA being built with positive messages about

1. We knew Ukr could get the job done. Our people are hard working, determined, etc
2. Ukrainians are proud of their country and saw the opportunity to show Europe why Ukr is special
3. Today, Ukr welcomes Europe and the world to the 2012 UEFA Football championship. Play ball

From: Daniel Rabin <dan@rabinstrasberg.com>

To: Paul Manafort <pmanafort@dmpint.com>

Cc: Rick Gates <rgates@dmpint.com>, Adam Strasberg <adam@rabinstrasberg.com>

Subject: Euro 2012 Scripts

Paul, I sent this earlier in the week and wanted to make sure you received the email below.

Thanks.

Dan

Paul,

Take a look at the three scripts enclosed. One is for the open of the games, one for during the games, and one for the close.

The visuals would all be exactly as you described in your memo. Once we have consensus on the narration I will add a video column so everyone understands the exact types of images that these ads need.

Looking forward to your thoughts.

Dan/Adam

Rabin Strasberg Media
media moving people

c: 202.550.1795

www.rabinstrasberg.com
(under construction)

Rabin Strasberg Media
media moving people

c: 202.550.1795
www.rabinstrasberg.com
(under construction)

Rabin Strasberg Media
media moving people

c: 202.550.1795
www.rabinstrasberg.com
(under construction)

Adam Strasberg
Rabin Strasberg MEDIA
media moving people
c: 202.302.3094
Read my blog on political advertising @ Ad Nauseam
Follow me on Twitter

EURO 2012 "DREAM"

CONCEPT:

This spot is built on big sweeping, emotional images. Think "Morning in Ukraine." We see close ups of faces, silhouetted workers, machines sitting quietly by a pile of dirt, a worker's weather beaten hands. We see architects with plans, a dad coming home late (the kids are already in bed), we see two workers staring up together at the stadium.

It started as a dream.

But dreams don't materialize overnight.

They happen because of our sweat.

They happen because of long hours of dedication... and sacrifice.

They happen because we put differences aside and work together recognizing that what unites us is always stronger than what drives us apart.

Euro 2012 is here. Born from determination, built with hard work and achieved out of a belief in Ukrainian potential.

It started with a dream... but today that dream is our reality.

EURO 2012
"SPIRIT"

CONCEPT:

This spot is built on big sweeping, emotional images. Think "Morning in Ukraine." We see close ups of faces, silhouetted workers, machines sitting quietly by a pile of dirt, a worker's weather beaten hands, a child kicking a ball, a mother looking at her baby.

The Euro 2012 shots will have shots of the stadium being build, the preparation, the pride of a worker or the amazement of a passerby.

What is the spirit of our country?

Does it bend to the impossible?

Or wilt in the face of daunting odds?

What is the spirit of Ukraine?

It's defined by hard work, determination and pride.

The spirit of Ukraine **IS** Euro 2012.

It's in the hands of every worker.

In the wonder of every child

In the love of every mother.

The spirit of Ukraine is all around us.

Euro 2012 is here.

This is who we are.

EURO 2012

"We are Ukraine"

CONCEPT:

This spot is built on big sweeping, emotional images. Think "Morning in Ukraine." We see close ups of faces, silhouetted workers, machines sitting quietly by a pile of dirt, a worker's weather beaten hands. Close up of a machine digging up dirt cut to a wide shot of all the work left to do. Close up of a worker's face wiping sweat off his brow, leaving work with the stadium looming beautifully behind him.

Determination in the face of a tough job.

The will to finish what we start.

The ingenuity to get it done right.

The pride in a job well done.

We are Ukraine and what divides us is no match for that which unites us.

Euro 2012 is here. Our opportunity to show the world our potential, our chance to show them our strength.

We are Ukraine, and this is what we can do... together.

Exhibit U

To: PJM
From: Dan Rabin & Adam Strasberg
RE: New film crew recommendations
Date: June 29, 2012

We have been giving thought to our conversation on changing direction with the film crew. We agree that to date, the images have been the achilles heel of media. Over the years we have seen the gamut of Ukrainian directors and crews. Whatever course we choose, there are some basic characteristics that the new director/crew needs to fill:

1. The new production group needs to film on modern, up to date equipment.
2. The new group needs to be overseen by a creative, talented, experienced and reliable Director.
3. We need a crew that understands the nature of the advertising, can think on their feet, call an audible when necessary, and move quick.
4. The new team must be able to move quickly, sometimes within days, to produce a shoot, capture images and deliver them for edit.

To those ends, we have four options available to us. Each has its own pluses and minuses. There are probably also politics involved in each choice, some of which we may not be aware. We have not been able to touch base with KK yet about *OPTION D*, but we added it to the list so we know the universe of choices available as the POR moves forward with this decision.

OPTION A

Currently, the POR is using the production crew and services of Maxim Denk (Inter) for filming and image acquisition. Their equipment is very high quality similar to what we would recommend for domestic clients. If the POR wants to continue this relationship, we highly recommend that Maxim immediately recommend a new Director with whom we could work. The Director is responsible for the composition and creativity of the images. A new direction would certainly result in different images.

OPTION B

Work directly with Igor Shuvolov to find a new producer, director and crew. In our meeting with him, Shuvolov told us that he had access to any and all parts of production. Unsure of the politics involved in soliciting his help, but Shuvolov seems to understand what we are tasked to accomplish, and could be in the position to recommend a favorable alternative.

OPTION C

Dimitri Danilov is the owner of the studio "Coffee Post" where the POR ads are being edited. They have filmed for the POR in the past, and shown that they can capture very

good, high quality images. They film on good equipment and have directors that are creative and understand what we need to accomplish. There is an advantage to vertical integration here. As the edit house, they understand the nature of the campaign advertising; they know what we need to film, and how it would be used in the advertising. That synergy might be exactly the extra kick the ads need.

OPTION D

As discussed, the media team can solicit recommendations for a new film crew from BVK or any member of his team. Upside: BVK and his team would be invested in the film crew decision and there may be less chance of future issues with footage quality. Downside: We do not know what we will be getting into. They do not understand the nature of media, and there is a good chance they will recommend a company that is not a good match for what their production needs. Filming evergreen images for political ads can be counter-intuitive for many directors. As we have already experienced, Ukrainian shoots can easily become bogged down in hierarchy and “the way that things are done.”

MOVING FORWARD

The latest Ad schedule has a positive dual track beginning on July 25. To accomplish that goal, we would need this decision to be made as soon as possible so the new group/new director can begin planning the shoot immediately. Upon landing on 7.9, I will need to head out to begin filming the testimonials. This is an ambitious plan. In a worse case scenario we can push the dual track by a week while this gets solved, but we should aim to make this happen immediately.

We think that these are the best four options available to us. Whatever option we chose moving forward, having a closer relationship between the group that’s filming and the group that’s editing will enhance the image quality of the ads. Additionally, bringing us into the pre-production process and giving us greater oversight on the filming process can help us gather the images we need.

That does not mean that there is not a better solution of which we have not thought. We would be glad to talk through any option that could help to capture better, higher quality, more creative images.

Looking forward to discussing.

Exhibit V







Exhibit W

VY Agenda
Jan 15, 2013

1. Lady
 - a. Attitude changing in Europe and US
 - i. EU friends are making progress/changes in USG -bad for YT
 - ii. She is sensing this
 1. Civil disobedience is meant to cause us to over reach
 - b. Slattery, JT, Sasha – new track is coming from too many places
 - c. First Quarter strategy on YT
 - i. Components
 1. Sasha, Alessandro, GC, Hapberg – lobbying
 - ii. start from Europe – AB tasks
 1. Switz
 2. banks
 3. B get letters, then meetings,
 4. Then raise with Gov
 5. Tie into Eur network
 6. Media leaks re: investigations of banks on LUY
 - iii. Then Ukr begins investigations
 1. Contacts Swiss
 2. Information sharing
2. Sasha tomorrow
 - a. C is bad, needs trial put off – health plays well in Europe (post feb 25 Summit is best to get out of way)
 - b. Looking for some breakthrough – Lutsenko is his idea
 - c. Wants to broker deal on YT – play him so that the AB strategy plays out publicly –
 - i. AB stories will change his view on solution
 - ii. VY is good guy for looking like he was searching for solution but now the new facts are too overwhelming to ignore
3. US update
 - a. Kerry
 - i. Back channel - AK
 - b. WH
 - i. Back channel - SL
 - c. Congress - Kozhara
 - d. Consultants – Podesta/Devine/Weber/ Barry Jackson
 - e. Chain of command
 - i. visits need to be co-ordinated & our people involved the meetings can be prepped and followed up
4. Europe
 - a. First Q
 - i. PJM Goals
 1. EU Summit a success
 2. Visa free regime announced & timetable established
 3. IMF process – how we say is as important as what we say
 4. OSCE –

- a. Goal = use to promote Ukr and good partner with other European countries & to build good relations with several EU leaders, including new ones
 - ii. EU Summit on Feb 25
 - 1. Issues – visa free, cpc, election law reform,
 - 2. Key is dialog - `AK – Fule
 - 3. Fule is at end of term – needs a success
 - iii. Others
 - 1. IMF
 - 2. OSCE
 - b. Hapsberg
 - i. Increase members
 - ii. Briefings = new USG appmts - Kerry, Royce, Dana,
 - c. Fule, Barosso
- 5. Campaign
 - a. Politics needs to drive Government
 - b. Chain of Command is VIP
 - c. Situation room – tied to CoM and Bankova,
 - d. New technology - Micro targeting - Obama
 - i. Tie into Larin program
 - e. Benchmark
 - f. Goal for 2013
 - i. Build on mini projects – fixing things up (Larin)
 - ii. Micro targeting layering of country – targets/policies/ achievements
 - iii. Financial assistance
- 6. Review various projects
 - a. Funding – same levels
 - b. Zev project
- 7. IMF
 - a. New narrative
 - b. Conflict betw technical and political
 - c. Approach – no incr in tariffs to people/ new approach –
 - d. instructions need to develop plan CoS
 - e. CoS – KG/IA to meet confidentially to lay out new approach
 - f.
- 8. Abruzov
 - a. Set up contact

Exhibit X

TO: SL
FROM: PJM
RE: PR EFFORTS THIS WEEK IN KYIV
DATE: APRIL 5, 2013

GOAL

Based on the important announcement expected this week, we want to be aggressive in defining our decision.

Additionally, it is important that we put the opposition on defense this week. We can do so by citing their obstructionist tactics in the VR and the impact on Ukraine's European integration. This week it is important to position the opposition as obstructionists.

AUDIENCE

The main audience this week is the international community. We want them to focus on the fact that the Government is performing on a number of levels to comply with the EU conditions. Additionally, we want the international community to see that, notwithstanding their words, the opposition is acting in ways that inhibit Ukraine from meeting its obligations to the EU.

OPPORTUNITY

Yatsynuk's request for copies of the legislation that was passed by the Deputies who convened outside of the BR chamber provides us with an opportunity to make several points.

First is the fact that constructive work was conducted.

A second important point is that the work product was legislation that is important to the EU.

The third point to stress is that the opposition is inconsistent in its words and actions.

Finally, the request provides us the opportunity to legitimize the VR session by virtue of the work done.

The best way to comply is to post the actions taken by the Deputies on the VR Website. This will denote legitimacy by itself.

The legislation passed should be organized in such a way that it is apparent that the new laws assist Ukraine in complying with EU Conditions. The specific connection between the work product and EU conditions should be highlighted on the VR Website. This will serve as an example of the efforts being undertaken by the Government despite difficulties created by the opposition.

TALKING POINTS – VR ACTIONS

1. Despite Opposition behavior, the VR passed important legislation last week
2. This legislation allows Ukraine to meet several important conditions set out by the EU in order to be in compliance with EU laws and regulations
3. More actions are being developed both in the VR and in the various Ministries to comply with the EU conditions.
4. Specifically, this past week the VR passed following legislation
 - a. KK LIST BILL AND EU CONDITION MET
5. The Government believes that Ukraine integration into the EU supercedes any partisan political issue and all responsible political parties should refrain from politics and assist in the work to achieve the goals established by the EU
6. Blocking the podium in the VR is a violation of the duties that Deputies swore in their oath to uphold the Constitution and work to improve the quality of life of all Ukrainian citizens
7. Government will no longer tolerate these destructive tactics of the opposition. It will continue to work to pass positive legislation
8. To date, the Government has been working with a number of western NGOs on a number of important policy initiatives
 - a. KK LIST THEM
9. Once again, the opposition calls for help from western sources but does nothing to engage these resources. Their lies are being uncovered daily. While they make requests for western help, the Government continues to work with western experts to improve laws on a number of fronts, including
 - a. KK – INSERT A FEW EXAMPLES

TALKING POINTS – ANNOUNCEMENT

1. TPs will be developed once the decision is announced

Exhibit Y

MEMORANDUM

To: President VFY
From: PJM
Subject: US Consultants – Quarterly Report
Date: April 22, 2013

Over the last three months the Government of Ukraine has gained considerable ground in enhancing its relationship with the USG. This is largely a result of building a comprehensive strategy that adopted issues of importance to the USG, and focusing on key and positive messages to better inform key members of the USG about Ukraine's objectives which are in alignment with the West.

Strategy

Substantial effort was spent in 2012 to defend against proponents of YT and views that she was selectively prosecuted. At that time it was the priority of the USG to attempt to influence the process of her release. We learned quickly that we needed to do a comprehensive outreach that relayed important progress that Ukraine was making on multiple fronts. The strategy for the first quarter of 2013 was to heavily engage with the USG and US Congress, using a strategy I built called "Engage Ukraine" which focused the dialogue on positive key issues, and away from YT.

These key messages include:

- Ukraine's integration with the EU
- Energy Security
- Russia attempting to have Ukraine align with the Customs Union
- Nuclear Proliferation

Impact

At the outset of 2013, the prospects for Congress imposing sanctions against Ukraine for perceived selective prosecution and regression in carrying out democratic reforms was high. Members of Congress, Executive Branch officials and opinion leaders criticized Ukraine on many fronts. Most importantly, these stakeholders hammered away at Ukraine for the imprisonment of YT. The challenges for changing the nature of the discussion were significant. The mood toward Ukraine was negative.

Following the holidays in December and early January it was widely expected that several members would be taking proactive and aggressive positions against Ukraine. However, one of the most critical goals that we have achieved during this quarter is to prevent the application of any sanctions against the GoU or its officials. We have been able to accomplish this by implementing key messages from the "Engage Ukraine" strategy, many of which resonate with key US officials.

Ub Q1m we have made progress in softening the perception of Ukraine in the US. Based on a sustained and aggressive implementation of our strategy, it is far less likely that Congress will impose sanctions against Ukraine. We have drawn out the White house, Dept of State and key Members of Congress on this issue and gotten them to endorse an "engage Ukraine" policy.

Messaging

Our “Engage Ukraine” messaging to policy makers focuses on two central themes.

1. We have and continue to emphasize the positive aspects of the US-Ukraine relationship. We highlight:

- **Defense and Security:** Ukraine has a proven track record of actively contributing to several NATO and international peacekeeping missions
- **Criminal Policy Reform:** This is one of the single best achievements that has been achieved by the GoU. This has shifted the debate significantly, and has resulted in reengaging expert European bodies to continue with more reforms.
- **Energy Cooperation:** The selection of Chevron and ExxonMobil to explore and develop shale gas and gas fields reflects a commitment by Ukraine to deepen its energy relationship with the U.S.
- **Combatting Maritime Piracy:** To combat piracy, Ukraine has taken a lead role and is an active partner in NATO’s anti -piracy operations in the Indian Ocean

These are just some of the substantive issues that we use with policy makers that are changing perceptions of Ukraine.

We have aggressively made the case to Congress and the Executive Branch that if sanctions are imposed against Ukraine it will undercut the European initiative to bring Ukraine into the European sphere. There is growing understanding that this would undermine both European and U.S. national security interests. This argument is resonating with policymakers in both political parties in Congress.

Who “lost Ukraine” will be a burden that Congress will shoulder should it pass legislation that mandates sanctions. We have been persistent on that point with key policy makers, and it is one of the single most effective arguments that turns the discussion away from YT and her imprisonment.

Outreach

We have carried our message to a wide audience. We have engaged dozens of Congressional offices including the leadership and every member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and House Foreign Affairs Committee. We have also worked with the Helsinki Commission and have educated members of the Senate and House Armed Services Committees on security questions.

Our engagement with senior officials of the Department of State is bearing fruit. While the U.S. policy continues to support Tymoshenko’s release, senior officials now agree with us that imposing sanctions could push Ukraine toward Russia. Thus, the State Department is now making that case to Congress, and continues to believe that engagement with Ukraine is the best course of foreign policy.

We have organized and leveraged the visits of the former Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski and former Italian Prime Minister Roman Prodi to make critical in-roads in how policymakers view Ukraine. Toward that end, the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Rep. Ed Royce (R-CA) told Mr. Prodi that “we must continue to encourage pro-western forces in Ukraine”.

Speeches, roundtables and programming at major think-tanks such as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace have also helped the broader Washington community understand the importance of the US for Ukraine to further its relationships with the West.

The pardon of Yuriy Lutsenko and five other prisoners is also a positive development that we have used effectively to argue against sanctions and to make the argument that the European Union should sign the Association Agreement with Ukraine. This step has also allowed us to leverage the progress in the US and have its support for the AA signing in the Fall.

Media

Since the beginning of 2013, we have been working across traditional and social media platforms to build a positive narrative for Ukraine in the US. The underlying theme for this narrative is the following: **Ukraine is an important global strategic partner to the United States and West that is committed to the necessary reforms for EU accession.**

We have delivered more specific messages that are representative of this theme, such as: **Ukraine is a global leader in energy production, is a significant contributor to the global economy, recognizes the rule of law as shown by the recent release of six prisoners, and Ukraine has been an active participant in combating maritime piracy.**

Our media outreach and strategy has included:

- placement of an op-ed by former Polish President Alexander Kwasniewski in a significant publication in Washington, DC that is delivered to every congressional office, the White House, and all U.S. federal agencies;
- placement of an op-ed by former Italian Prime Minister Romano in the Christian Science Monitor, a universal publication that has a high readership in many key foreign policy communities and among key policymakers in the US;
- pitching our narrative and messaging to key reporters and editors at the Washington Post, the Wall Street Journal, and New York Times; and extensive online outreach to relevant bloggers.

In the next few weeks we will be capitalizing on the upcoming visit of Foreign Minister Kozhara and Sergei Klyuiev by placing an op-ed (authored by Kozhara) for publication in an influential newspaper during or around the time of their visit.

After their visit, we will place an op-ed that highlights Ukraine's track record in working with Western fleets to combat maritime piracy. We have secured a retired US Navy Admiral – who is an expert in maritime piracy issues and who has experience working with Ukraine in this area – to author this op-ed.

Our ongoing efforts will include pitching bi-weekly press releases/news articles that highlight new, updated achievements and progress that Ukraine is making in its pursuit of the Association Agreement with the EU; identifying additional credible authors for op-eds that we will draft and have strategically placed; and developing and executing new digital strategies to increase the profile and narrative of Ukraine online and across multiple social media platforms.

Emerging Problem Areas

Given the changes in perceptions towards Ukraine, it is important to note the emergence of a broader issue agenda.

There are several issues that are growing in importance and will need to be addressed in the next 3 months.

1. IMF. There is a growing impression that Ukraine is unwilling to make the fiscal and monetary changes necessary to finalize a new loan facility. The new economic team led by DPM Arbuzov is viewed as competent and more organized than the previous team. However, there is a consensus hardening that the Govt of Ukr is not addressing the problems. While the gas tariff issue is a deal stopper, if a new strategy can frame a credible program that addresses the issues raised by the IMF Mission teams, some pressure can be applied with the new supporters in Washington. More than any other bilateral issue, the IMF matter is viewed as the litmus test of the seriousness of the Govt to fix its core problems.
2. WTO. RICK FILL IN THE ISSUE HERE AND SOME OF THE THINGS WE CAN AND WILL DO
3. IPR RICK FILL IN THE ISSUE HERE AND SOME OF THE THINGS WE CAN AND WILL DO
4. OTHER ISSUES/ RICK ID

Way Forward

The US consultants team will seek to leverage the hard work and important actions taken by the GoU taken in the first quarter to continue with the strong progress that has been made and further advance the "Engage Ukraine" agenda for the second quarter.

The USG strategy looks to leverage the reforms being promoted in compliance with EU conditions for signing the AA and DCFTA. Because there is less direct awareness in Washington, we will bring European leaders to Washington to educate USG officials of the important changes occurring in Ukraine and the progress being achieved in the reform and modernization programs.

Two of the critical reform areas are in the implementation of the CPC and the electoral changes made based on OSCE recommendations from the VR elections. Using visits by Ukr officials and European leaders, we will educate targeted officials in the USG.

The goal is to lay the foundation and protect the work that has been done to ensure that the AA is signed this Fall in Vilnius.

We will continue to identify, educate, recruit and mobilize third-party validators for Ukraine's west-ward focus, and goal of EU membership through our "Engage Ukraine" outreach campaign. Our primary goal is to ensure signing of the AA and to prevent the passage of sanctions against Ukraine. This will take a sustained effort in Congress and in the executive branch to ensure that the progress we have made is not reversed. We will also continue to establish representation in Congress on behalf of the GoU during any relevant Congressional briefings and hearings.

Our team will directly work to advance our existing relationships, or construct them where they are preliminary, with Members of Congress that will be in a direct position to influence policy regarding Ukraine. We have made much progress in the beginning of 2013 and the

MEMORANDUM

To: President VFY
From: PJM
Subject: US Consultants – Quarterly Report
Date: April 22, 2013

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At the outset of 2013, the prospects for Congress imposing sanctions against Ukraine for perceived selective prosecution and regression in carrying out democratic reforms was high. Members of Congress, Executive Branch officials and opinion leaders criticized Ukraine on many fronts. Most importantly, these stakeholders hammered away at Ukraine for the imprisonment of YT. The challenges for changing the nature of the discussion were significant. The mood toward Ukraine was negative.

Following the holidays in December and early January it was widely expected that several members would be taking proactive and aggressive positions against Ukraine. However, one of the most critical goals that we have achieved during this quarter is to prevent the application of any sanctions against the GoU or its officials. We have been able to accomplish this by implementing key messages from the "Engage Ukraine" strategy, many of which resonate with key US officials.

Ub Q1m we have made Our work representing the GoU has enabled us to make progress in softening changing the perception of Ukraine in the US. Based on a In the last quarter, through a sustained and aggressive implementation of our strategy, we believe it is far less likely that Congress will impose sanctions against Ukraine. We have drawn out the White house, Dept of State and key Members of Congress on this issue and gotten them to endorse an "engage Ukraine" policy.

Messaging

Our "Engage Ukraine" messaging to policy makers focuses on two central themes.

1. We have and continue to emphasize the positive aspects of the US-Ukraine relationship. We highlight:

- **Defense and Security:** Ukraine has a proven track record of actively contributing to several NATO and international peacekeeping missions
- **Criminal Policy Reform:** This is one of the single best achievements that has been achieved by the GoU. This has shifted the debate significantly, and has resulted in reengaging expert European bodies to continue with more reforms.
- **Energy Cooperation:** The selection of Chevron and ExxonMobil to explore and develop shale gas and gas fields reflects a commitment by Ukraine to deepen its energy relationship with the U.S.
- **Combatting Maritime Piracy:** To combat piracy, Ukraine has taken a lead role and is an active partner in NATO's anti-piracy operations in the Indian Ocean

These are just some of the substantive issues that we use with policy makers that are changing perceptions of Ukraine.

2.—We have aggressively made the case to Congress and the Executive Branch that if sanctions are imposed against Ukraine it will undercut the European initiative to bring Ukraine into the European sphere. There is growing understanding that this would undermine both European and it will turn away from the West and toward Russia thus undermining U.S. national security interests. This argument is resonating with policymakers in both political parties on both sides of the aisle in Congress.

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Who "lost Ukraine" will be a burden that Congress will shoulder should it pass legislation that mandates sanctions. We have been persistent on that point with key policy makers, and it is one of the single most effective arguments that turns the discussion away from YT and her imprisonment.

Outreach

We have carried our message to a wide audience. We have engaged dozens of Congressional offices including the leadership and every member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and House Foreign Affairs Committee. We have also worked with the Helsinki Commission and have educated members of the Senate and House Armed Services Committees on security questions.

Our engagement with senior officials of the Department of State is bearing fruit. While the U.S. policy continues to support Tymoshenko's release, senior officials now agree with us that imposing sanctions could push Ukraine toward Russia. Thus, the State Department is now making that case to Congress, and continues to believe that engagement with Ukraine is the best course of foreign policy.

We have organized and leveraged the visits of the former Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski and former Italian Prime Minister Roman Prodi to make critical in-roads in how policymakers view Ukraine. Toward that end, the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs

Committee, Rep. Ed Royce (R-CA) told Mr. Prodi that “we must continue to encourage pro-western forces in Ukraine”.

Speeches, roundtables and programming at major think-tanks such as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace have also helped the broader Washington community understand the importance of the US for Ukraine to further its relationships with the West.

The pardon of Yuriy Lutsenko and five other prisoners is also a positive welcome development that we have used effectively to argue against sanctions and to make the argument that the European Union should sign the Association Agreement with Ukraine. This step has also allowed us to leverage the progress in the US and have its support for the AA signing in the Fall.

Media

Since the beginning of 2013, we have been working across traditional and social media platforms to build a positive narrative for Ukraine in the US. The underlying theme for this narrative is the following: ***Ukraine is an important global strategic partner to the United States and West that is committed to the necessary reforms for EU accession.***

We have delivered more specific messages that are representative of this theme, such as: ***Ukraine is a global leader in energy production, is a significant contributor to the global economy, recognizes the rule of law as shown by the recent release of six prisoners, and Ukraine has been an active participant in combating maritime piracy.***

Our media outreach and strategy has included:

- placement of an op-ed by former Polish President Alexander Kwasniewski in a significant publication in Washington, DC that is delivered to every congressional office, the White House, and all U.S. federal agencies;
- placement of an op-ed by former Italian Prime Minister Romano in the Christian Science Monitor, a universal publication that has a high readership in many key foreign policy communities and among key policymakers in the US;
- pitching our narrative and messaging to key reporters and editors at the Washington Post, the Wall Street Journal, and New York Times; and extensive online outreach to relevant bloggers.

In the next few weeks we will be capitalizing on the upcoming visit of Foreign Minister Kozhara and Sergei Klyuiev by placing an op-ed (authored by Kozhara) for publication in an influential newspaper during or around the time of their visit.

After their visit, we will place an op-ed that highlights Ukraine’s track record in working with Western fleets to combat maritime piracy. We have secured a retired US Navy Admiral – who is an expert in maritime piracy issues and who has experience working with Ukraine in this area – to author this op-ed.

Our ongoing efforts will include pitching bi-weekly press releases/news articles that highlight new, updated achievements and progress that Ukraine is making in its pursuit of the Association Agreement with the EU; identifying additional credible authors for op-eds that we will draft and have strategically placed; and developing and executing new digital strategies to increase the profile and narrative of Ukraine online and across multiple social media platforms.

Emerging Problem Areas

Given the changes in perceptions towards Ukraine, it is important to note the emergence of a broader issue agenda.

There are several issues that are growing in importance and will need to be addressed in the next 3 months.

1. IMF. There is a growing impression that Ukraine is unwilling to make the fiscal and monetary changes necessary to finalize a new loan facility. The new economic team led by DPM Arbutov is viewed as competent and more organized than the previous team. However, there is a consensus hardening that the Govt of Ukr is not addressing the problems. While the gas tariff issue is a deal stopper, if a new strategy can frame an credible program that addresses the issues raised by the IMF Mission teams, some pressure can be applied with the new supporters in Washington. More than any other bilateral issue, the IMF matter is viewed as the litmus test of the seriousness of the Govt to fix its core problems.
2. WTO. RICK FILL IN THE ISSUE HERE AND SOME OF THE THINGS WE CAN AND WILL DO
3. IPR RICK FILL IN THE ISSUE HERE AND SOME OF THE THINGS WE CAN AND WILL DO
4. OTHER ISSUES/ RICK ID

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Way Forward

The US consultants team will seek to leverage the hard work and important actions taken by the GoU taken in the first quarter to continue with the strong progress that has been made and further advance the "Engage Ukraine" agenda for the second quarter.

The USG strategy looks to leverage the reforms being promoted in compliance with EU conditions for signing the AA and DCFTA. Because there is less direct awareness in Washington, we will bring European leaders to Washington to educate USG officials of the important changes occurring in Ukraine and the progress being achieved in the reform and modernization programs.

Two of the critical reform areas are in the implementation of the CPC and the electoral changes made based on OSCE recommendations from the VR elections. Using visits by Ukr officials and European leaders, we will educate targeted officials in the USG.

The goal is to lay the foundation and protect the work that has been done to ensure that the AA is signed this Fall in Vilnius.

We will continue to identify, educate, recruit and mobilize third-party validators for Ukraine's west-ward focus, and goal of EU membership through our "Engage Ukraine" outreach campaign. Our primary goal is to ensure signing of the AA and to prevent the passage of sanctions against Ukraine. This will take a sustained effort in Congress and in the executive branch to ensure that the progress we have made is not reversed. We will also continue to establish representation in Congress on behalf of the GoU during any relevant Congressional briefings and hearings.

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Our team will directly work to advance our existing relationships, or construct them where they are preliminary, with Members of Congress that will be in a direct position to influence policy regarding Ukraine. We have made much progress in the beginning of 2013 and the

Exhibit Z



Ukraine Opposition Bloc

Campaign Strategy and Plan

September 2014

DOJSCO-402992906

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 - Creation and Announcement of OB
 - HQ Organization and Key Roles
 - Regional Roadshows
 - Party Congress
 - Polling and Focus Groups
 - Media and Advertising
 - Blueprint – Donbas Reconstruction Plan

Strategy

Strategic Imperatives

- Currently, the Government bloc is not viewed in the SE as fairly representing the interests of the SE
- VR elections must result in the SE believing they have representation the VR or the threat to a United Ukraine will increase
- A vacuum exists in the SE with no real political representation
- The Opposition Bloc (OB) can become the champion of people in the SE
- Focus Groups must be conducted immediately to finalize strategy and messaging

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Strategy

Stakes of the Election

- Frame the choice between the Government Bloc and the OB
- To keep Ukraine united, the next VR must include political representation by a Party with credibility in the SE
- the OB is a collection of Parties and leaders are the only political force in the elections with a tie to the SE and who understand the SE
- The presence of the OB in the next VR is critical to the SE having a voice in Kyiv, even if only as a vocal minority
- As a presence in the VR, the OB will force the Govt to ensure a real economic and humanitarian reconstruction of the SE that will impact directly the people of the SE

Strategy

Key Voter Targets

- TO 6 plus Donbas
- Select oblasts in Center where importance of keeping Ukraine united can result in votes for the OB even if they differ on other OB positions.
- Select voter targets that are aligned with OB core issues including anti-corruption, stability and economic development
- Single Mandate Districts (SMDs) represent a target base for the OB

Strategy

Key Messages

- **Keep Ukraine United**
 - *Lay out principles governing this concept*
- **End the war now**
 - *Peace can only be achieved through political negotiations, not war*
 - *Will require new, more democratic relationships between all regions and central government*
 - *There must be a commitment to a united Ukraine*
 - *Federalization is not autonomy – it is decentralization of democracy to levels that are closer to the people*
 - *Examples – election of Governors, control over finances generated in regions, protection of cultural diversity*

Strategy

Key Messages

- **Economic reconstruction**
 - *Any program must include active involvement in real decision-making on all aspects of economic reconstruction*
 - *Priorities, implementation of programs to rebuild from the damages*
 - *Need to create a “blueprint” and show a tangible plan*
- **Humanitarian relief**
 - *Program must target poor and needy*
 - *Additional programs must focus on rebuilding the medical, educational and social sectors to assist all in area*

Strategy

Key Messages

- **Government has been unable to deliver on key promises**
 - *To bring peace to Ukraine*
 - *To enhance the economy*
 - *To reduce corruption*
 - *Lives are worse off today*
- **OB will protect Ukraine's interest in terms of impact of AA signing and EU integration**
 - *Ukraine must ensure that the economy is not further damaged*
 - *Ukraine must receive benefits from joining EU and these must be explained to voters*
 - *EU alignment is of concern to many voters especially in the SE*

Campaign Phases

Phase I

September 5th - 21st

- Announcement of OB and why it was created
- Key Goals
 - Establish the OB as a viable political option for VR and only credible party that can represent the SE
 - Establish the Stakes of the Election
- Organization of political network of OB
- Merger of all parties into a party HQ
- Appointment of representatives of OB to DEC/ CECs
- Complete Focus Groups and finalize strategy based on results

Campaign Phases

Phase I

- **Key Messages for Phase I**
 - OB must be part of new VR in order for SE to have a voice in Kyiv
 - Without a voice in Kyiv, isolation of SE will grow worse
 - OB are national patriots who believe in a united Ukraine
 - OB member parties are putting aside differences to create an opposition bloc that will ensure that interests of the SE in particular are protected and advanced and this does not exist today
 - The stakes of this election are to create a viable alternative to the Government Bloc which will ensure that the SE reconstruction program will be implemented in 3 main spheres – political, economic and social
 - The current Government has failed to deliver on key promises particularly with the economy

Campaign Phases

Phase II

September 22nd – October 5th

- Goals
 - Make the case against the Government Bloc in the SE
 - Establish OB as political voice of non-government parties and key to democratic development of Ukraine
- Campaign structures and outreach must penetrate the target oblasts
- DONBAS blueprint and campaign plan for reconstruction must be implemented
- Key messages will be built off of Focus Groups

Campaign Phases

Phase III

October 6th – 20th

- Goal – Focus on OB policy position program and why it must be a part of new VR
- **Key Messages**
 - OB program for economic reconstruction of SE
 - OB program for ending the war
 - OB program for political reforms (anti-corruption, economic, judicial, electoral and more)
 - OB program for Social and humanitarian assistance and reforms

Campaign Phases

Phase IV

October 21st – October 24th

- Goals
 - Summarize main arguments for OB
 - Create impression that OB will be part of new VR to establish motivation for voter turnout
- **Key Messages and Tactics**
 - Compare to failures of the Government Bloc
 - Establish OB as the only alternative for voters in SE and Donbas
 - Appeal to Central Ukraine on importance of OB in new VR to keep separatists movement from breaking off of Donbas into new Crimea

Next Steps

1. Creation of OB as a political entity

- Initial goals to implement – Must be completed by September 15th
- Organization of Party HQ
- Finalize structure of OB team
- Agree on composition of member Parties to become part of OB
- Organize top 20 on Party list for use in Phase 1 of campaign (through September filing date for complete list)
- Finalize SMD targets and assign responsibilities
- Appoint representatives to DEC and PECs
- Finalize a notional strategy with final strategy being approved by Sept 22 after initial Focus Groups information is presented

Next Steps

2. Press Announcement of OB

- Target Date September 8th
- Organization functions
 - Develop media plan for announcement
 - Finalize statement to announce the creation of OB
- **Organize press packet for announcement**
 - Reason for creation of OB
 - Statement of Principles – tied to core concepts of United Ukraine, end the war, political freedoms for regions (federalization concepts), economic reconstruction of society, humanitarian assistance for all especially poor
 - Mission, goals and purpose of OB
 - Leadership of OB – Chairman of campaign, HQ manager, Executive committee,

Next Steps

- **Organize announcement plan**
 - Announcement Date – Monday September 8th
 - Media selected for release of information on formation and private briefing sessions occur
 - Key international media and diplomats briefed
 - Plan organized to brief all embassies – approved Sept 5 with briefings to occur on Monday Sept 8
 - Press packet organized for domestic and international stakeholders (media, diplomats, others)
 - ST prepared with key statement and Q&A
 - Road show
 - Assign someone to manage announcement plan
 - 1d regional media announcement tour – where?
 - 1d regional media to target - especially in SE and DONBAS
 - 1d who is assigned to conduct interviews in regions
 - build out plan on this platform

Next Steps

3. HQ organization

- Roles to fill ASAP
 - Creation of Ideology Dept to manage communications, advertising and media
 - Communications manager – to handle all media – electronic, print, social
 - Advertising manager – to co-ordinate with consultants on creation of paid TV, radio and print advertising and to develop and implement the media buy plan
 - Creation of VIP Surrogate teams
 - Manager of DONBAS project
 - Special committee with ties to DONBAS who can deal with separatists to allow OB to conduct campaign
 - Goal – build campaign structure
 - Oversee distribution of campaign messages
 - Legal team
 - Need to identify all filing requirements and lay out master schedule by Sept 8
 - Election integrity is central to ensuring elections are transparent
 - Field Operations – Alex to provide update of schedule
 - Grassroots mobilization
 - Voter target programs
 - Outreach programs – direct mail, digital, social media

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Next Steps

4. Regional Roadshows

- Build a roadshow for ST and other key VIP surrogates – approved by September 8th
- Begins on Sept 10 and extends over 2 weeks
- Purpose of roadshow:
 - Explain why OB organized and how it can win a major percentage to become member party of new VR
 - Layout out stakes of the election – Government bloc v Opposition Bloc
 - Hand out materials with Statement of Principles and why OB will be effective representative of SE

Next Steps

5. Party Congress

- Goal of Congress
 - To focus attention on the Goals of the OB
 - To frame the stakes of the election as Government Bloc v Opposition Bloc
 - To lay out charges of Government failures
 - To promote manifesto of OB (should be no more than 4 key points/sections
 - Keep Ukraine united, end the war (political compromises), economic reconstruction, humanitarian assistance
- Media event
 - Second major event of campaign (first being announcement of creation of OB)
- Date – approximately Sept 12-14
 - If there are any legal requirements that necessitate an earlier, formal OB party meeting it should be a private meeting, not a public event
 - Date of public Party Congress must be agreed to by Sept 7
- Manager is appointed by Sept 7
- Plan developed for goals of Party Congress
- Venue plan is organized and finalized
- Materials created by Sept 11

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Next Steps

6. Polling and Research

- Benchmark polls
 - Draft and finalize poll ASAP
 - Put into field
 - Timeline for polls and tracking

7. Focus Groups

- First wave of Focus Groups organized to begin week of Sept 8 –
- Kopatko & US Consultants
 - Structure of participants finalized
 - Locations for FG finalized (oblasts)
 - Scripts finalized
 - Timeline and completion target date
- Results incorporated into strategy

Next Steps

8. Creative and production teams organized

- Plan to implement must be finalized by Sept 8 and implemented no later than week of Sept 15
 - Identify key locations for big boards
 - Develop framework and artwork for big boards
 - Merge locations secured by individual OB party members

9. TV and Radio Advertising campaign

- Media buyer hired – Sept 6
 - Role – to develop media buy plan for TV, radio and Print bot nationally and regionally
 - Plan must track political targeting

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Next Steps

10. Media plan approved – September 8th

- Lays out number of media waves
- Creates notional plan for the waves of campaign
- Initial media waves include:

Ad 1 Announce the creation of the Opposition Bloc. Outline why they are the best choice for Ukraine
Ad 2 Outline current Government failures that the Opposition Bloc will address in the next VR.
Ad 3 Begin to deliver negatives on the government. Message TBD pending FG and poll results.
Ad 4 Begin to present contrast of Opposition Bloc vs the government's managing of the crisis. Message TBD pending FG and poll results
Ad 5 Message TBD pending FG and poll results. A united Ukraine requires a legitimate political force to represent the interests of the SE. This is the OB.

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Next Steps

<p>Ad 6</p> <p>Message TBD pending FG and poll results.</p> <p>A united Ukraine requires a legitimate political force to represent the interests of the SE. This is the OB.</p>
<p>Ad 7</p> <p>Message TBD pending FG and poll results</p>
<p>Ad 8</p> <p>Messages TBD pending FG and poll results</p>
<p>Ad 9</p> <p>Begin to present contrast of Opposition Bloc vs the Government's managing of the crisis.</p> <p>Message TBD pending FG and poll results</p>
<p>Ad 10</p> <p>GOTV and call to action. Message TBD.</p>

- First advertising spots are finalized – September 10th
- Wave 1 begins – no later than September 12th

Next Steps

11. Build plan for DONBAS reconstruction and humanitarian

campaign

- Team must be organized to develop how to implement campaign in DONBAS area
- Plan must be submitted to management team of OB by September 15
- Components include
 - TV advertising on TV and Radios broadcasting in DONBAS
 - Campaign organizations set up
 - Distribution of material

- **Co-ordination with Separatists to allow campaign to be implemented and operated**

Exhibit AA

DAILY Talking Points
Opposition Bloc Messages
September 24, 2014

The following message points should be used in addition to the weekly talking points that were provided at the beginning of the week. The points below are in response to daily events that have occurred which we need to address as part of our messaging campaign.

Stakes of the Election

Failed leadership is harming Ukrainians

Since this government has been in power, there has been no organized opposition in the VR and no representation of the interests in the industrial regions of Ukraine.

And it is not only in the industrial regions but happening throughout Ukraine.

Yesterday, in Kyiv the City Council debated the possibility of turning off water and electricity to schools and hospitals. This is tragic and should not be the way that our citizens have to live. This is inexcusable.

In another example of how bad the economic situation is, A.Vilkul witnessed three citizens purchasing one sausage, and then split it three ways because none of these honorable Ukrainians had enough money to purchase one on their own.

The deteriorating quality of life is a direct result of the President's inability to lead and his weak policies.

The policies of the National Government have destroyed the economy, and will continue if the president and prime minister are not held accountable.

1. The economy is being impacted daily and more Ukrainians suffer.
 - a. Food prices have increased by 12.6% and the average cost of basic necessities such as bread and milk are hurting our citizens.
 - b. Inflation in Ukraine will reach 19-20% before the end of the year, which will continue to drive up prices.
 - c. Pensions and subsistence support cannot keep up with inflation and are decreasing.
 - d. Real wages cannot keep pace. Wages have dropped by 1.7% since the beginning of the year.
 - e. And the Government is failing to pay people's wages. Today wage arrears are 44%.

Imagine 5 years of this Government without any opposition. This is what the president is trying to do. He is trying to prevent people in the industrial regions from voting so he has no opposition.

The President and the Kyiv government do not care about the industrial regions of Ukraine.

We must protect citizens throughout all of Ukraine but especially in the industrial oblasts where they have no representation.

The OB will protect Ukrainians in the industrial regions. We will be the voice that speaks loudly about the needs and issues of the southeast. We cannot allow the President or Kyiv government to destroy our country.

Exhibit BB

MEMORANDUM

To: Campaign HQ
From: PJM
Subject: OB Campaign Leaflets
Date: October 7, 2014

The purpose of this memo is to outline the plan for developing leaflets for the remaining weeks of the campaign.

The next round of leaflets must focus on the 4 Point Plan that was announced on Monday by YB. We will develop 5 leaflets which will be broken out as follows:

- Leaflet 1** ***4 Point Plan*** – overview of the plan and some specificity of each of its four components.
- Leaflet 2** ***Pensions*** (Support the People) – targeted piece that will attack the current governments work and highlight the OB plan
- Leaflet 3** ***Donbas Reconstruction*** (Economic Recovery) – targeted piece that will outline the OB plan for rehabilitation of the industrial regions
- Leaflet 4** ***Job Security*** – saving current jobs and creating new jobs
- Leaflet 5** ***Energy Security and Independence*** (cold winter) – targeted piece that will highlight OB plan and position YB as the person that can fix this issue

The key is that the leaflet's tie into the overall strategy of the campaign. In addition, we will use the leaflets as an opportunity to be more aggressive with both our attacks on the government, and what the OB will do in each of these areas. Where TV and radio advertisements limit our ability to communicate certain messages, the leaflets will provide a viable distribution component for our core objectives and messages.

Exhibit CC

RE: May 17 Rallies

The purpose of this memorandum is to lay out the goals and messages for a PoR rally on May 17 that will compete with the Oppositions anti-VY rally.

Strategy

The plan should be to present a contrast between the 2 rallies.

The PoR rally must be well organized and messages should stress that reforms are being implemented that will have an historic impact on the future of Ukrainian people. Additionally, the plan should depict the opposition party as self-absorbed and incapable of leading the country during these difficult times.

Goals for PoR rally

There are several key goals of the PoR rally:

1. PoR wants to present itself as working to build a modern Ukraine
2. PoR wants to highlight that actions of the opposition are designed to be destructive not constructive
3. PoR wants to tie specific policies of VY Administration to the future of Ukr
4. PoR should note that the reforms being put into place will bring improvement in the quality of life of the Ukrainian people
5. Show that VY Adm is building important ties to Russia on Trade and EU on modernization and investment
6. Promote social program advancements under VY

Positive Messages at PoR Rally

1. VY Administration is achieving historic results as it moves closer to becoming a member of the EU
2. VY Administration is creating a modern Ukraine and is working closely with the Europe, Washington and important international NGOs
3. VY Administration is exploring ways to maximize the trade relations with the Customs Union
4. VY administration has begun an irreversible process of integration that will create conditions for FDI and job creation
5. VY administration is close to completing all of the requirements to acceleration the implementation of a VISA Free Regime that will allow Ukrainians to travel widely throughout Europe

Negative Messages at PoR Rally

1. RAISE EXPECTATIONS OF OPPOSITION
 - a. FAILED TO MEET EXPECTATIONS ACHIEVEMENTS
 - a.b. PUT OUT HIGH NUMBER OF ATTENDEES
2. Opposition personalizes their attacks on VY Administration officials to distract from their empty record

3. Opposition goals are to destroy the political structure of Ukr because they don't control it
4. Opposition is a group of leaders who have personal ambitions but no real policies that unite them
 - a. Facists, nationalists, opportunists are key characteristics
5. Opposition is trying to deceive the Ukrainian People regarding support for a rule of law society
 - a. New CPC has created major shift from Soviet law to western law yet opposition refuses to embrace the new Code as significant progress
6. When the Opposition was in power, it failed to achieve any of the important reforms required to apply for EU membership
7. Opposition claims to support Judicial reform but is constantly

Conclusion

It is important that our rally look professional and motivated. Speakers should be aggressive but not personal.

As the opposition demands bringing down the government, the PoR should note that anarchy will not bring improvement to Ukraine and would jeopardize the critical EU agreements being signed in Vilnius.

THEME – POR STANDS FOR UNITING COUNTRY/ OPPOSITION FOR DIVIDING

<u>YOUNG, -</u>	<u>EUROPE IS FUTURE FOR INVESTMENT</u>
<u>VET -</u>	<u>MAY 9</u>
<u>WOMAN -</u>	<u>EQUALITY</u>
<u>SOMEONE FROM WESTERN UKR -</u>	<u>UNITY -</u>
<u>YEFRAMOV</u>	
<u>ST</u>	
<u>ANTI NATO/WEST</u>	<u>FORMER MIN OF DEF</u>

MEMO ON STRATEGY FOR AK

Exhibit DD

To Do

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PJM Presentation to Weekly Campaign Management Meeting

Communications

1. Advertising
 - a. Strategy –
 - i. Drive message before others do
 - ii. To date, we are only one
 - iii. RESULT: we are able to create impact without serious competition
 1. being told that YT and OU not planning major advertising until February
 2. We will be able to harden support and maybe grow some more
 - iv. Key – don't let up
 1. new rotation
 - b. New scripts
 - c. Message for next 2 weeks
 - i. Economic plan
 - ii. Failed Leadership – Gas crisis
 - iii. **HANDOUT ?**
 - d. Sackett Memo on impact of advertising
 - i. Not any where close to saturation
 - ii. **HANDOUT**
2. Tour
 - a. Visuals planned
 - b. Crowd development
 - c. Images and themes matched
 - d. Bus travel – opportunity to motivate local leaders in traveling between sites and events
 - i. ***ACTION: Build daily manifest***
3. Schedule
 - a. GOAL: Connect Leaders tour with message communications
 - b. Footage
 - i. Studio on ground
 1. I have forwarded messages and visuals for each event
 2. tied to national theme
 3. connected with daily briefing with AG
 - ii. Edited version daily uplinked (national news time is assured)
 1. to Kyiv for National TV distribution
 2. to 20 regional TV stations for broadcast in TOs
 - iii. Weekly DVD of uplinks distributed to District PoR offices, local agitators, VIP Program
 - iv. website
4. Website
 - a. GOALS:
 - i. First to reorganize and add english button
 1. reorganization

- a. Poll section
 - b. Comments from Leader Section
 - c. Daily campaign events uplink
 - d. Newspaper articles of interest (PJM has created an English daily digest)
 - e. Important speeches or pronouncements ex. Referendum comments of Leader on Tuesday
 - ii. Second, Provide information to International media
 - 1. PJM has master list of key reporters in US and getting European data base who will get an email from PJM re: website address
 - iii. Third, build as a resource
- 5. Western Media program
 - a. GOAL: US first and then Europe
 - i. Create expectations of Yanukovich victory
 - ii. Build knowledge base of what is happening in campaign
 - iii. Educate media, and political leadership
 - b. Work of last 2 months in US
 - i. Leading Newspapers – NYTimes, Washington Post, Chicago Tribune, LATimes
 - ii. Laying groundwork
 - iii. Gas crisis was lynchpin – brought Ukraine to front pages
 - iv.
 - c. HANDOUT – NYTimes, Chicago Tribune

Office Space

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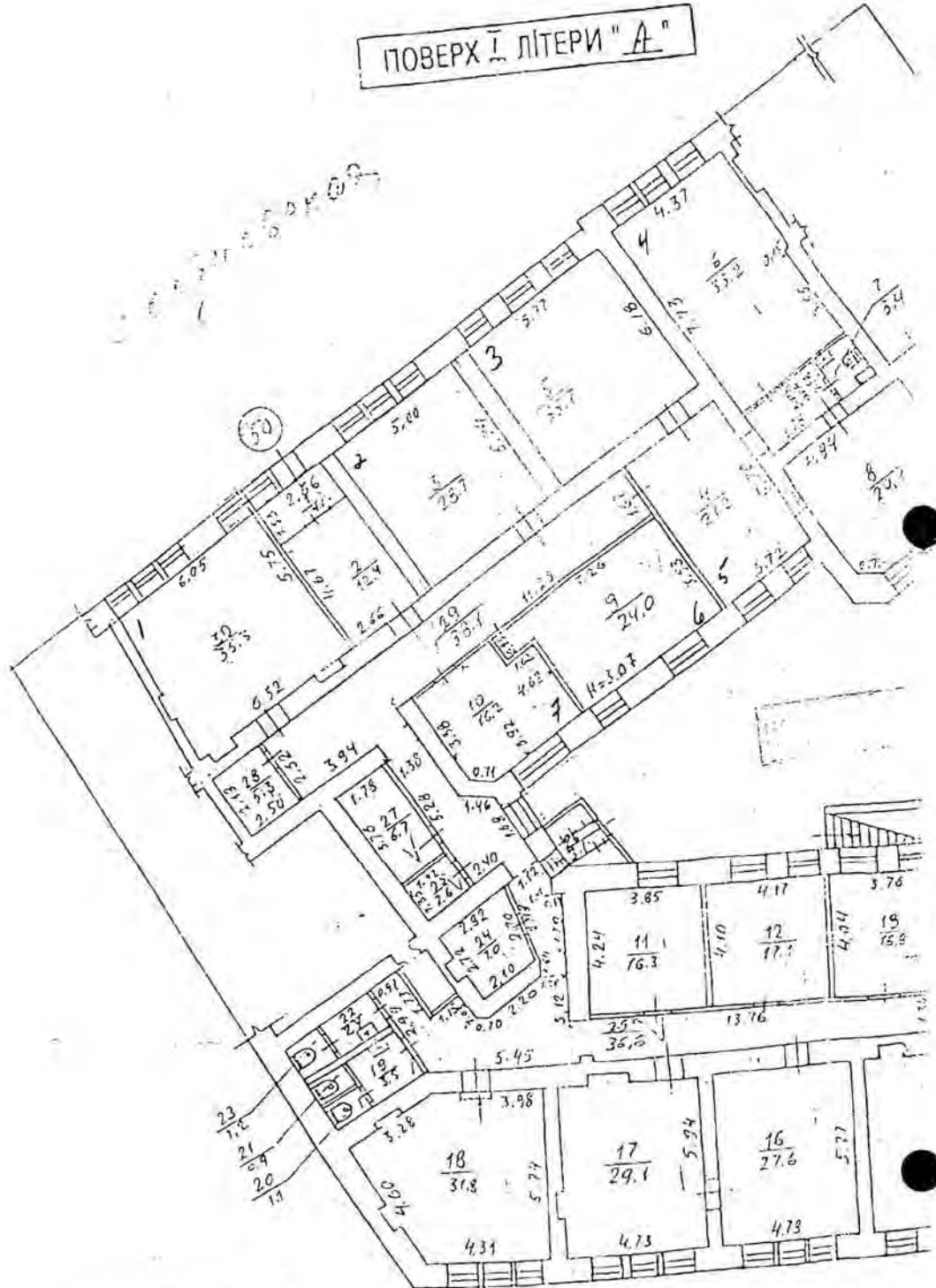
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ПЛАН ЗА ПОВЕРХ

на будівлю літер « А »
 М. Житомирська /
 по вулиці Сопігівська, буд. № 1
 району Лещерського

ПОВЕРХ І ЛІТЕРИ "А"



Масштаб - 1:200

М. Житомирська



Radisson

radissonsas.com

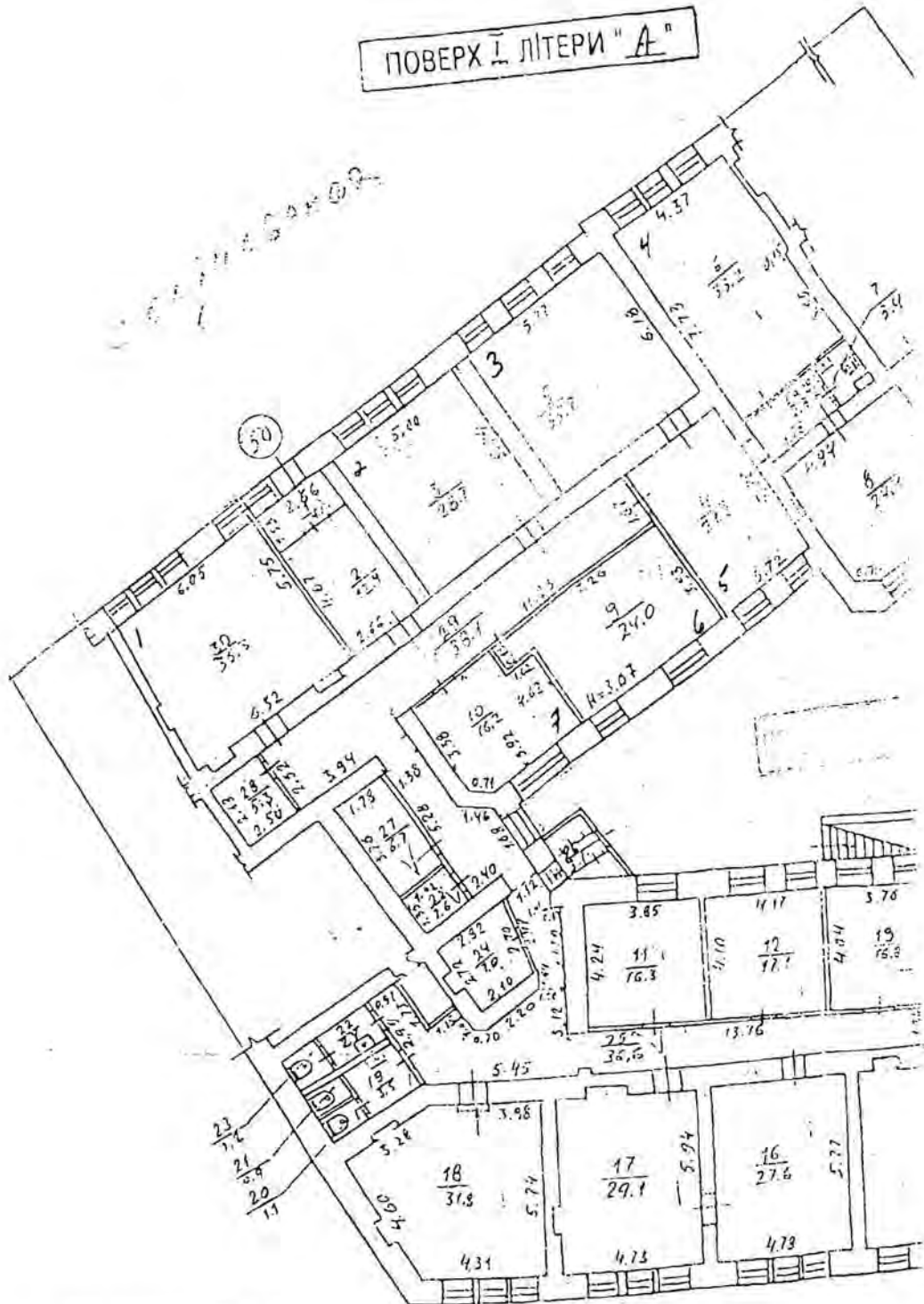
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planning / RPD	4	Disks	2	Computers	
DIN	4	Desk	2	Computers	
TRANS / ADMIN	3	DESK	1	Computer	Plasma TV / DVD
CONF. ROOM		CONF. Table			
STAFF ROOM	4	DESKS	4	Computers	
ALLIANCE	3	DESK	1	Computer	
SEMIN STAFF			2	Computers	

ПЛАН ЗА ПОР

на будівлю літер « А »
 М. Житомирська /
 по вулиці Софіївська буд № 1
 району Печерського

ПОВЕРХ І ЛІТЕРИ "А"



Масштаб - 1:200

Н. Н. Н.

Confidential

List of Consultants



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DOJSCO-400745236

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Davis, Manafort Inc.

Davis, Manafort is a full service international firm specializing in offering comprehensive strategic services to assist in Global Lobbying and Communications Programs as well as developing and implementing national election campaigns in both Presidential and Parliamentary systems.

Davis, Manafort creates Country specific Teams of accomplished professionals to meet the precise needs of its Clients. The Firm has been engaged in managing campaigns in over 35 countries offering the full range of campaign and consulting services. Additionally, the Firm specializes in managing very high level international political networks to bring understanding and acceptance of unique circumstances of a regional or local nature for its Client nations, companies and individuals.

Recognizing that actions occurring in distant countries are often misunderstood in the West, Davis, Manafort has been successfully engaged for over 25 years in bridging the cultural and information voids of the West with those distant countries and systems. Because of its active involvement in the US and European political systems, Davis, Manafort integrates its personal awareness and knowledge of the political agendas of those Western Governments into comprehensive Governmental and Communications Programs for its Client Countries. Bringing Western technology and know-how to those Countries, Davis, Manafort enables its Clients to cogently present the basis for its actions. This capability has enabled Countries to resist populist uprisings, bring credibility to Government actions and elections and preserve policies of outgoing regimes.

Richard H. Davis

Richard Davis, Managing Partner of Davis Manafort, is a recognized leader in international and national political affairs. He has over 20 years of experience in both foreign and domestic political and public affairs. Most recently, Mr. Davis served Senator John S. McCain as his 2000 presidential campaign's National Campaign Manager. In that capacity, Mr. Davis managed the development of the campaign's strategy and was responsible for the implementation of all aspects of the campaign.

Internationally, Mr. Davis has run presidential and legislative campaigns in Europe, Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, and Central and South America. He has also helped build political parties and democratic coalitions around the world.

In the United States, Mr. Davis currently serves as Chairman of Senator McCain's political action committee, Straight Talk America and was recently a Fellow at the Institute of Politics at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. He also serves as President of the Reform Institute, a 501(c)3 organization dedicated to advancing campaign finance and election reform.

In addition to managing Senator McCain's Presidential Campaign, Mr. Davis' involvement in domestic politics includes serving as Consultant to the Bloomberg for

Mayor campaign in New York City in 2001, Deputy Convention Manager for the 1996 National Republican Convention and Deputy Campaign Manager for the 1996 Presidential Campaign of Senator Bob Dole. He started his political activity in 1979 as a staff member of the Republican National Committee; in 1980, as Regional Director of the Commitment '80, Reagan/Bush Campaign; in 1982, as Campaign Manager for Paul Trible's successful Senate campaign; in 1984, as the National Convention Director for the Reagan/Bush Re-Election Campaign and, the 1988 Presidential Debate Coordinator for the Bush/Quayle 1988 Presidential Campaign. He recently served as an advisor to Michael Bloomberg's 2001 Mayoral race in New York City.

Mr. Davis served on President Reagan's staff from 1985 until March 1987 as a Principal Associate Director in the Office of Cabinet Affairs and Special Assistant to the President. As the Associate Director, his responsibilities included the coordination and development of US domestic policy in the White House.

During his tenure at the White House, Mr. Davis was the coordinator of policies and projects which included the President's Catastrophic Illness Bill, the Omnibus Health Bill of 1986, the Privatization of Conrail, the President's Space Commercialization Policy, the Rogers Commission, and the President's Competitiveness Package of 1987.

As the White House Coordinator of Domestic Policy Issues, Mr. Davis was also a member of a number of the interagency working groups including the Special Interagency Working Group on Space, the Health Policy Working Group, the Working Group on Privatization, and the Federalization Working Group.

In addition to his public service, Mr. Davis' extensive experience in policy formulation and implementation includes serving as a member of the transition teams of President Reagan in 1980 and President Bush in 1988. He was the Special Assistant for Policy to the Secretary of Health and Human Services; Special Assistant for the Budget to the Secretary of the Interior; Special Assistant for Trade Development at the International Trade Administration in the US Department of Commerce, and a Consultant to the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. In 1990, Mr. Davis served as Consultant to the White House Conference on Science and Economic Research Related to Global Change.

Mr. Davis is a board member of George Washington University, Graduate School of Political Management and the United Leaders Foundation. He also serves on the CFI Presidential Task Force, and is active in other public interest activities.

Richard Davis is married to Dr. Karen Davis and has two children, Lauren and Cole. A resident of Virginia, Mr. Davis holds a Bachelor of Science degree from the University of Alabama in Operations Research.

Paul J. Manafort

Paul Manafort, an attorney and a founding partner of Davis Manafort, has been active in business, government and international affairs for over two decades. Mr. Manafort has specialized in providing strategic advice and raising capital for young companies, as well as in project finance, trade, tax matters and geopolitics. Most recently, Mr. Manafort provided strategic advice to President George W. Bush's presidential campaign.

At Davis Manafort, Mr. Manafort has specialized in assisting new ventures in the technology and telecommunications sectors. He has provided counsel to these ventures in the areas of raising capital, developing international marketing strategies, entering new markets and strategic partnering. Several of the companies he has been involved with include: *Nexgen*, a telecommunications company offering long distance services to carriers servicing international markets; *Exel*, an international telehousing facility; *Biometrics Imagineering*, an advanced technology company offering proprietary products in biometrics, banking and financial services; *SIMPIL*, an advanced technology company in computer chip and software development; and *TTI*, a government contracting company providing services in telecommunications and software management.

Mr. Manafort and the principals at Davis, Manafort also provided several foreign governments with export and import strategies for "government-to-government" and "government-to-business" development deals. Included among these was the Mongolian Supercomputing Center, where Davis, Manafort assisted in US Government export-import strategy and provided merchant banking services. Prior to founding Davis Manafort, Mr. Manafort directed the international affairs activities at Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly for 15 years.

Mr. Manafort has provided political counsel to Republican candidates and managed numerous state and national Republican campaigns. He has served as a senior strategist for several Republican Presidential campaigns, including that of President George W. Bush. He served as Political Director for the 1988 Bush campaign at the Republican National Convention and as Director of External Affairs in the Bush/Quayle general election campaign. Mr. Manafort was also a senior advisor to the 1996 Dole for President Campaign, and the Convention Manager of the campaign at the 1996 Republican National Convention in San Diego, California. He served as Southern Coordinator for the 1976 Ford and the 1980 Reagan presidential campaigns where he developed and directed the political strategies for fifteen southern states, and he acted as President Reagan's Political Director at the Republican National Conventions in 1980 and 1984.

Mr. Manafort served as an Associate Director in the Office of Presidential Personnel at the White House during the Ford Administration where he was responsible for liaison between the White House, international and national security and energy-related departments for all presidential appointments. Following his service with President Ford, Mr. Manafort joined the Washington office of the law firm of Vorys, Sater, Seymour, and Pease. While there, he specialized in practice before administrative agencies including the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), Federal Elections Commission (FEC), Agency for International Development

(AID), International Trade Commission (ITC), and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

In 1981, Mr. Manafort was appointed by President Reagan and confirmed by the U.S. Senate to serve as Director of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) and on the Investment Policy Advisory Committee (INPAC) at the Office of the US Trade Representative. While serving in these positions, he was actively involved in policy development with regard to US business investment in foreign markets and general trade-related investment issues. In addition, Mr. Manafort chaired a Georgetown University bipartisan study group, which analyzed the development of Executive-Legislative relations and power sharing over the last fifteen years.

Mr. Manafort is active in a number of international organizations and has served as a member of the Board of Directors for the Center for Study of Democratic Institutions, the Center for Democracy, the International Exchange Council, and as a Senior Fellow of the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Additionally, Mr. Manafort serves on the Boards of Directors of a number of private companies in the technology and telecommunications arenas. A native of Connecticut, Mr. Manafort is a member of the Bars of the District of Columbia and the State of Connecticut. He holds a Bachelor's degree from Georgetown University in Public Administration and a Juris Doctorate from the Georgetown University Law Center.

Philip Griffin

Philip Griffin has over 18 years experience in international political and government relations work. Prior to working with Davis-Manafort in Georgia, Mr. Griffin managed races for the firm in Nigeria and South Africa.

In 2002 and 2003, Mr. Griffin was a Senior Professional Staff member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and also worked as Field Director at the National Republican Senatorial Committee in 1996-1997. While at the Republican Senatorial Committee, Mr. Griffin was responsible for 10 races including those of Senator Hagel (Nebraska), Senator Smith (Oregon), Senators Brownback and Roberts (Kansas) and Senator Enzi (Wyoming).

Mr. Griffin was Political Officer with the International Republican Institute in Moscow 1995-1996 and was Country Director for IRI in Haiti in 1997. From 1999-2001 Mr. Griffin served as Country Director for the International Foundation for Election Systems in Dushanbe, Tajikistan.

Philip Griffin has been a campaign manager/finance director on numerous political campaigns in the U.S. including races in Virginia, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa. Mr. Griffin was a Legislative Aide to Congressman Courter (New Jersey) in 1989-1990.

Mr. Griffin has resided abroad for 16 years. He is fluent in French, German and Italian and possesses a good working knowledge of Russian.

Konstantin V. Kilimnik

Konstantin Kilimnik is a specialist in political training, political research and analysis and NGO management. He has over 10 years experience in management of political training programs and building NGO networks, as well as international development work involving political parties, domestic and international non-governmental organizations and executive and legislative bodies at the national and regional level.

Prior to joining Davis Manafort in 2005, Konstantin Kilimnik worked for 10 years as Program Officer, Deputy Director and Acting Country Director for Russia at the Moscow office of the International Republican Institute (IRI), a U.S.-based non-profit organization dedicated to advancing democracy worldwide. His responsibilities at IRI included planning and day-to-day management of the Institute's programs in Russia, development and maintenance of high-level contacts at the national and regional level in the Russian political establishment, Russian non-profit sector and international donor community. He organized and executed over 200 campaign training programs for a number of Russian democratically-oriented political parties, having done work in 50 out of 89 regions of the Russian Federation.

In addition to campaign training activities, Mr. Kilimnik oversaw NGO development, women leadership development, local self-government development and youth development segments of IRI's programs in Russia. He extensively liaised with IRI offices throughout the Eurasia region, helping them build program, administrative and financial components of their activities in Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Belarus, Moldova and Kyrgyzstan.

Mr. Kilimnik participated as international observer in numerous election observations in Russia and other CIS countries, most recent of which included observation missions during Presidential elections in Ukraine in October-December 2004. Through his work at IRI he built an extensive network of contacts among international diplomatic and donor community in Russia and other CIS countries, national and regional executive and legislative branches of government in Russia, leading Russian mass media and political consultants' community.

Mr. Kilimnik grew up and went to school in Kriviy Rih, Ukraine and in 1992 graduated from the Military Institute of the Defense Ministry in Moscow with a degree in English and Swedish linguistics and information work. In addition to native Ukrainian and Russian, he is fluent in English and Swedish languages. He joined IRI in 1995, after working for 3 years as instructor in English and Swedish at the Military Institute and working as translator during official visits of official high-ranking U.S. and European delegations. He resides in Moscow, is married and has two daughters, 5 and 11 years old.

Christian Ferry

Christian Ferry joined Davis Manafort in 2003 and has been active in political campaigns, public policy development, government relations and strategy development for the past ten years. Mr. Ferry has worked with business and government on transportation, telecommunications, border security and natural resources policy and been active in political campaigns at the state and national level in the United States and around the world.

Prior to joining Davis Manafort, Mr. Ferry worked for the Union Pacific Corporation as Deputy Director for Political Affairs. Mr. Ferry managed Union Pacific's political action committee and political activity, as well as customs, border control and safety issues with the federal government.

From 1999-2000, Mr. Ferry worked as the Assistant Campaign Manager for Senator John McCain's campaign for President. Prior to joining Senator McCain's campaign, Mr. Ferry worked for Governor James Gilmore of Virginia as a Special Assistant to the Secretary of Natural Resources. In 1997, Mr. Ferry was the Field Director for the Gilmore for Governor campaign. In addition to the Gilmore campaign, Mr. Ferry has worked on numerous state legislative campaigns in Virginia, the 1996 Bob Dole for President campaign, and the 1996 Republican National Convention.

Mr. Ferry has served on the Board of Directors of the National Association of Business Political Action Committees and the Virginia Board of Conservation and Recreation.

A native Virginian, Mr. Ferry earned his Bachelor of Arts degree at the University of Virginia, where he majored in government and history. Mr. Ferry and his wife, Holly, reside in Arlington, Virginia with their daughter, Spencer.

National Media, Inc.

<http://www.natmedia.com>

National Media is a full-service, independent communications firm. We create survey-driven, campaign-style strategic communications to successfully navigate our clients through uncharted business, regulatory, legislative and legal waters. Over the last twenty-five years, National Media has led some of the highest profile public affairs campaigns in America and around the world.

The National Media team is made up of the most talented advertising, media, and political pros in the business who have managed high profile campaigns in America, and around the world.

We work together at the National Media Center, a state-of-art facility that provides us with the most advanced resources available, integrating all of our capabilities in one location to provide our clients with the best service in the industry.

Alex Castellanos

Alex Castellanos is one of the Republican Party's new generation of TV-advertising consultants. Castellanos has served as media consultant to five US Presidential campaigns. He has helped elect eight US Senators, six Governors, and enjoys over two decades of political consulting experience, both in the United States and abroad. Fortune singled out Mr. Castellanos as a "new style media master." Mr. Castellanos brings a wealth of campaign strategy, public opinion research and communications experience to corporate communications and public policy campaigns.

Mr. Castellanos, a native of Havana, Cuba, is fluent in Spanish and English. His parents, refugees who fled Castro's Cuba in 1961, came to this country with one suitcase, two children and eleven dollars.

A Morehead and National Merit Scholar at the University of North Carolina, Mr. Castellanos lectures frequently internationally and in the United States, from Harvard University to the United States Army Communication School.

Robin Roberts

Robin Roberts, co-founder and President of National Media is recognized as one of America's most experienced political/advocacy media planning and placement professional.

In addition to managing all day-to-day business operations, Robin oversees the media research and placement functions.

In 1995, he received the American Association of Political Consultant's award for "best development of new technology" for "Polaris," a proprietary system developed by National Media to monitor and quantify audience delivery of commercials in the top 100 TV markets.

In 1998 Robin was a Washington, DC finalist honored as "Entrepreneur of the Year" by Ernst & Young.

A native of South Carolina, Mr. Roberts holds a bachelor's degree in Advertising and Public Relations from the University of South Carolina, where in 2004 he was named as the year's Distinguished Alumnus of the School of Journalism and Mass Communication.

The Tarrance Group

<http://www.tarrance.com>

Founded in 1977, The Tarrance Group is one of the most successful full-service polling and strategic research firms in the United States.

The Tarrance Group clients include political candidates, trade associations, and major corporations. Eleven U.S. Senators, three Governors, and over thirty Members of Congress currently rely on The Tarrance Group for their research needs, as does Miller Brewing, Papa John's, and the American Society of Anesthesiologists.

Ed Goeas and his partners, Brian Tringali, and Dave Sackett, have built a team with diverse political and corporate research experience, both domestically and abroad. The members of The Tarrance Group combine years of experience in the disciplines of research design, questionnaire development, sampling, computer processing and analytical report writing.

But, they are not just pollsters. Every member of our team has real world experience combined with strong academic backgrounds. The Tarrance Group is committed to being a vital part of the strategic team. When crucial decisions must be made, the Tarrance Group will be there to provide clients with the full array of research and targeting tools necessary to know your world.

The Tarrance Group's emphasis on a team concept ensures that the most technically accurate, timely and effective strategic research is brought to bear on your needs and goals. The team members work together through the developmental, analytical and strategic planning stages of survey research. In this way, the strengths of each member of the team are maximized and directed on helping our clients achieve their goals.

Ed Goeas

Ed Goeas is President and C.E.O. of The Tarrance Group, one of the most respected and successful Republican survey research and strategy teams in American politics today.

Widely recognized as one of the country's leading political strategists, Goeas is an often sought after consultant. Goeas and his partners Dave Sackett and Brian Tringali currently serve as pollster to five Republican Governors, ten U.S. Senators, and forty-seven Republican Members of Congress. Among his clients are Senator Trent Lott (MS), Senator Mike DeWine (OH), Congressman John Boehner (OH), Congressman Zach Wamp (TN), and Governor Haley Barbour (MS).

In addition to his campaign work, Goeas works in partnership with Democratic pollster Celinda Lake on the nationally recognized "Battleground" poll - one of the country's most respected national, political research programs. Lake and Goeas also conduct an

array of bipartisan issue work for organizations across the nation, providing a balanced, bipartisan perspective on the key issues facing the nation.

Goeas consults on an array of policy concerns such as education policy, health care, immigration law, and youth voting trends to name a few.

Goeas has been widely published in professional and academic journals, including the Yale Law and Policy Review, on a variety of public policy issues based on his national research. Goeas has also worked on a number of foreign campaigns in Russia, Greece, Hungary, France, and the Philippines.

Frequently sought as a political analyst, Goeas regularly appears on national public affairs programs including: Meet the Press, This Week, Good Morning America, The Today Show, The News Hour with Jim Lehrer, FOX News with Brit Hume, C-Span and CNN Inside Politics.

During the 1994 election cycle, Goeas was recognized by Democrat and Republican members of the American Association of Political Consultants as "Pollster of the Year." In his more than twenty-five years of working professionally in politics, he has served as the National Political Director of the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC), a field operative for the Republican National Committee, campaign manager in several campaigns, and Chief of Staff to a U.S. Congressman.

Ed Goeas is married to Lisa Goeas who currently works raising funds for Cornerstone Community School, a private school in Washington, D.C. for inner-city kids. Ed has two daughters, Jenn (22), Emma (4), and a new son, Robert, who was born on October 23, 2004.

Dave Sackett

Dave Sackett is a founding Partner in The Tarrance Group, one of the most respected and successful Republican survey research and strategy teams in American politics today. Sackett has an extensive background in campaign strategy, political media and message development, and demographic targeting.

Sackett serves as the pollster and strategic consultant for over fifty Republican Governors, U.S. Senators, Members of Congress, and State leaders, including Colorado Governor Bill Owens, NRCC Chairman Congressman Tom Reynolds, U.S. Senator John Warner of Virginia, Idaho Senator Larry Craig, and Jacksonville, FL Mayor John Peyton. Sackett also serves as a strategic consultant for the National Republican Congressional Committee, and is the pollster for the State Senate and House campaign committees in Florida.

In both 2004 and 2002, Roll Call named Dave Sackett as one of the top twenty consultants in the country, calling him "one of the most influential pollsters in the business." for his role in expanding the Republican majorities in the House and Senate.

During the '04 cycle, Sackett served as member of the Bush-Cheney '04 polling team, and was charged with developing the national Republican strategy for messaging on the Prescription Drug Benefit to Medicare legislation, and Republican messaging to Hispanic voters in key target states. In addition to setting the strategy for over a two dozen successful campaigns, Sackett also played a key role in the I.E. efforts for the NRCC and Republican Governors Association. His work on the Prescription Drug Benefit follows the work he did during the '02 cycle on developing the national strategy which successfully neutralized Democrat attacks on Social Security privatization.

In addition to his domestic political work, Sackett is also very active in international politics, having served as a pollster and strategic advisor on national and provincial campaigns in Canada, France, Russia, the Philippines, and Romania.

Sackett's public affairs work centers around children's issues, and he has spent the last fifteen years working with foundations and organizations involved in children's health, adoption, before and afterschool programs, and abuse prevention strategies. In 2002, Sackett served as the pollster for California Prop 49 - Arnold Schwarzenegger's successful Before and After School Initiative.

Prior to joining The Tarrance Group, Dave Sackett served as a Political Director for the National Republican Congressional Committee, as a producer/director for a media consulting firm, and as communications director for a California Congressman.

Sackett grew up in Canada and is a graduate of Trent University. He switched to politics when his hockey career was cut short by a lack of talent.

Project Associates

<http://www.projectassociatesltd.com>

Project Associates, a communications consultancy, was founded in 1997 by David Rigg. David has built up a small team of people and has established a tight network of associate companies with complementary and diverse skills and experience.

Over the last seven years, Project Associates has developed a blue chip client list of businesses and high profile individuals on the principles of providing a bespoke, credible and results driven process.

Project Associates provides clients with advice and support on Corporate Positioning, Crisis and Reputation Management, Litigation, Public Affairs and Campaigning/Issues Management.

Project Associates does not expect our clients to have identical issues, so Project Associates does not offer identical teams or identical services – they provide them with what they require when they need it.

Strategic positioning for companies is a key part of our business. Understanding their aspirations, identifying political, media and other relevant opportunities and maximising their performance are the main drivers.

Working at the most senior levels within a corporation, Project Associates aims to add value by identifying key issues, working on core message development and providing strategic insight. Project Associates does not aim to replace or duplicate existing resources. Project Associates determines to enhance further value.

David Rigg

David is the founder of Project Associates and is actively involved with all of the company's clients. Previously, he worked for a number of years with De La Rue plc, at that time a FTSE 100 company. During this period he operated in over 100 countries around the world and was latterly responsible for strategic planning, mergers, acquisitions and disposals for the Group worldwide.

In 1993 he was instrumental in the formation of a consortium of five major international companies to bid for the first UK Government licence to establish a national lottery. The consortium was awarded the contract in 1994. David was a member of the main board of Camelot and its Director of Communications. During this period he had responsibility for external communications with Government, media and special interest groups. This entailed, amongst other responsibilities, undertaking some 2,500 television interviews and over 5,000 radio interviews.

Camelot took sales from zero to in excess of £5 billion a year in its first twelve months. He left the board of Camelot in October 1997 to start Project Associates.

FIPRA International

<http://www.fipra.com>

The FIPRA Group is an independent network of senior public policy and regulatory advisors. Specializing in strategic government relations, the group has offices in 34 countries and operates in 40. These highly trained "units" work together quickly and effectively to the most exacting professional common standards:

- Politicians, authorities, and regulators attempt to reconcile competing interests. The better they understand the issues, the better able they are to reconcile these interests, the better the reconciliation, the better the political process works to the benefit of all.
- The task of each interest involved is to inform political decision-makers of the relevant issues and to persuade them to accept its judgment of the issues. To do so well, a given interest must be able to distil the nature of its issues and concerns, and communicate them appropriately.
- The task of the FIPRA public affairs consultant is to assist a given interest to put their case appropriately and effectively to public policy makers and regulators. To do so well, a FIPRA public affairs consultant must be an expert in the political and institutional process, understand the nature of the issues and concerns of the interest he or she represents, and the time and resource constraints on political and public institutions.
- Any political institution should welcome such activities. A good public affairs professional is a source of accurate and current information, who recognizes different points of view, and who, therefore, assists in the reconciliation of different interests.
- To facilitate the political process, political institutions should ensure:
 - reasonable access to those representing any interest, providing the nature of the interest is identified;
 - a fair hearing for any interest, where the input is timely, relevant and courteous both to individuals and to the rules of the institution;
 - encouragement of public affairs activity, where it is based on high standards of research, analysis, presentation and a knowledge of the political process.
 - FIPRA consultants must:
 - maintain the highest standards of accuracy and care in their research and knowledge provision;
 - apply the fullest expertise to their interpretations of events;
 - be ready to identify themselves by name and company when approaching any political or public institution;

- o be ready to identify the nature of the interest they represent;
- o behave in a courteous manner, which is both morally and legally correct;
- o keep confidential all matters relating to their work; act in the best interests of the client, while reconciling these interests to the greatest possible extent with the public interest;
- o work within the rules of the political institutions.

The independent professionals within the FIPRA network include many very senior former regulators, ministers and politicians and some top figures from industry. All have years of extensive public policy expertise with a deep knowledge of and experience in government affairs at both the national and international level.

Our clients include both small and medium sized enterprises and some of the largest and most successful companies in the world. For example, one third of all companies in the Dow Jones index have drawn on FIPRA help in the last five years. Therefore, if you are looking for advice or an assessment of any local or international policy or regulatory communications matter, we can help. FIPRA is particularly strong in helping you devise and deliver strategies in several countries simultaneously.

Quinn Gillespie & Associates

<http://www.quinn-gillespie.com>

Quinn Gillespie & Associates (QGA) is one of Washington, D.C.'s top public affairs firms, providing strategic counsel, government relations and communication services to a diverse group of leading corporations, coalitions and trade associations.

The firm brings a bipartisan, multi-disciplinary approach to helping clients tackle public affairs challenges. QGA was formed by Democratic White House veteran Jack Quinn and Former Republican National Committee (RNC) Chairman Ed Gillespie.

The firm's government relations and communications professionals have a strong understanding of the White House, the U.S. Congress, Federal agencies, advocacy groups and the media. The firm and its members are consistently recognized as among Washington's most influential and effective by publications like The Washington Post, Fortune, National Journal, Influence, Roll Call and The Hill. The firm's principals also are frequent political commentators on television and radio.

A Campaign Mentality

QGA's success is directly attributable to its people and philosophy. Firm members have been intimately involved in electing the last two presidents, and we bring this same campaign mentality to the work we do for all our clients.

Solving problems, shaping public policy and delivering results are about more than just relationships and lobbying. Success requires use of the full range of tools for affecting public policy — including lobbying, communications, media relations, research and advertising. This approach has proven highly effective in shaping perceptions, developing allies, turning adverse circumstances into positive outcomes, and most importantly, producing exceptional results for our clients.

... And A Team Approach

All of the firm's members, including principals and directors, government relations and communications specialists, have a hand in addressing the challenges clients face.

While many firms adhere to a rigid account team structure, QGA brings the firm's collective expertise and contacts to bear on behalf of every client. In addition to the daily attention QGA's clients receive from their core team, the entire firm meets weekly to discuss every client and communicates constantly, in person and electronically, to enlist support, gather intelligence and share ideas.

Jack Quinn

Jack Quinn is a founder and co-chairman of Quinn Gillespie & Associates, LLC, a strategic consulting company he formed in January 2000 with Ed Gillespie. Quinn Gillespie & Associates provides clients with strategic counsel, government relations and communications in a wide range of areas including high technology, energy, financial services and insurance, telecommunications, international transactions, health care, regulatory issues and a host of other issues.

Before co-founding Quinn Gillespie & Associates, Mr. Quinn was a partner in the Washington, D.C. law firm of Arnold & Porter where he practiced for 20 years. Mr. Quinn served as Counsel to the President of the United States from November 1995 to February 1997. At the time of Mr. Quinn's appointment by President Clinton, he was Vice President Gore's Chief-of-Staff and Counselor, a position he undertook in June 1993. Before his government service, Mr. Quinn was also an Adjunct Professor of Law at Georgetown University Law Center where he taught a seminar in constitutional law for three years.

Mr. Quinn is a 1971 graduate of Georgetown University College of Arts and Sciences and is a 1975 graduate of Georgetown University Law Center where he was an editor of the Georgetown Law Journal. While in college and law school, Mr. Quinn served on the staff of the United States Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs (1969-73), the Democratic National Committee (1973) and Senator Floyd Haskell (D-CO, 1974-75). In 1975-76, at the age of 26, Mr. Quinn served as Campaign Director of the Udall for President campaign.

He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and has served on a number of boards, including Fannie Mae (1997-2000), the Philadelphia Stock Exchange, the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial and the Center City Consortium.

Ed Gillespie

Ed Gillespie is a founder and co-chairman of Quinn Gillespie & Associates, a bipartisan public affairs firm that provides strategic counsel, government relations and communications services to corporations, trade associations and issue-based coalitions.

Mr. Gillespie is one of the most prominent and successful strategists in the Republican Party. Most recently, while on leave from QGA, he served as Chairman of the Republican National Committee (RNC) for the 2004 election cycle. He was the first RNC Chairman in 80 years to preside over the re-election of a Republican president while retaining Republican majorities in both the House and Senate. In recognition of these efforts, National Review magazine called Mr. Gillespie an "indispensable member of the triumphant troika under Bush" (along with campaign manager Ken Mehlman and White House strategist Karl Rove).

In 2002, he was general strategist for Elizabeth Dole's senate campaign in North Carolina, in which Dole garnered the biggest margin of victory of any Senate candidate in the state in over 25 years. Dole and former Clinton chief-of-staff Erskine Bowles

combined to wage the most expensive senate race in the country, and the Dole campaign has been cited by numerous political analysts as one of the best of the 2002 election cycle.

Mr. Gillespie's political work on behalf of President George W. Bush is well known, ranging from his management of the highly regarded convention program in Philadelphia in the summer of 2000 to his service as Senior Communications Advisor in Austin to his aggressive spokesman role during the historic recount in Florida, to serving as Communications Director for the President's inauguration in January of 2001.

In 1996, Mr. Gillespie served as Director of Communications and Congressional Affairs for the Republican National Committee under then Chairman Haley Barbour. Prior to that, he served for over a decade as a top aide to former House Majority Leader Dick Armey (R-TX). He was a principal drafter of the now famous "Contract with America," which in 1994 swept Republicans to control of the U.S. House of Representatives for the first time in 40 years. Mr. Gillespie edited the paperback book Contract with America, which climbed to number two on the New York Times' bestseller's list in February 1995.

The New Jersey native is a graduate of the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C. While at CUA, he began his career on Capitol Hill as a Senate parking lot attendant. He is married to the former Cathy Hay, executive director of U.S. Rep. Joe Barton's political action committee (the Texas Freedom Fund). The two met playing softball in the Capitol Hill League. They have three children: John Patrick, Carrie and Mollie Brigid.

Before forming QGA with former Clinton White House Counsel Jack Quinn, Mr. Gillespie was President and CEO of Policy Impact Communications.

PodestaMattoon

<http://www.podesta.com>

PodestaMattoon understands how public opinion can determine your fate in the legislative arena. The firm is adept at navigating Washington. Reframing debates. Fulfilling agendas.

Since 1988, PodestaMattoon has provided their clients with superior strategic advice and access, combined with a creativity that is unique in Washington. Their Administration and Capitol Hill connections make the firm one of the city's most effective government relations firms. Yet PodestaMattoon is more agile and innovative than an old-fashioned lobbying shop. The firm looks to public relations and the grassroots for solutions, not just to traditional lobbying. PodestaMattoon is peerless at reaching across the corporate and public interest sectors to build broad-based coalitions to pursue their client's goal.

Emerging new industries and new ventures needing to break the Washington code turn to PodestaMattoon for this creativity and resourcefulness. Years of work with cutting-edge biotechnology, high-technology and telecommunications companies have made the firm thoroughly at home in handling complicated technologies on a mix of legislative and regulatory issues that play out not just nationally, but globally. The principals are long-time providers of advocacy services to the nation's leading biotechnology firms. They continue to advise many of the pioneers— now the powerhouses— of global electronic commerce. They are the principal lobbyists for broadcasters, cable companies and the motion picture industry on First Amendment and other telecommunications issues.

The variety of services PodestaMattoon offers is surprisingly broad for a company of its size. The team of a dozen Democratic and Republican principals, all experienced policy-makers and political strategists, offers a breadth and depth of experience typical of a much larger firm. Their clients are not only corporations and trade associations but law firms and other lobbying and public relations shops.

Anthony Podesta

Dubbed by Wired magazine as one of Washington's best-connected dealmakers, Anthony T. Podesta is a top legislative and public relations strategist. A fierce competitor in the Washington arena, Podesta has cultivated his self-started, three-person business into what is now one of the top lobbying firms according to Fortune, Influence, and Legal Times.

Clients as well as key players in Washington rely on Podesta's unparalleled legislative, public relations, and campaign management expertise, and Washingtonian magazine named him one of their Power 50. His long-standing personal ties to Members of Congress and the public interest community distinguish him from competitors, and when organizations—whether corporations, small businesses, or non-profits—need help in Washington, Tony Podesta is the man they call for direction.

Dan Mattoon

Dan Mattoon is a veteran of the Washington political arena. For more than thirty years, he has provided political and strategic legislative counsel to House Republican Members, and is a trusted advisor to many of the Washington political elite, including Speaker Hastert, House Majority Leader DeLay, House Majority Whip Blunt, House Republican Conference Chairwoman Pryce and NRCC Chairman Reynolds. During the 2000 election cycle, he was Deputy Chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, and, under his capable leadership, the Republicans maintained control of the House of Representatives for a fourth consecutive Congress for the first time since the 1920's. His previous fifteen-year tenure as Vice President of Congressional Affairs at BellSouth Corporation, where he was instrumental in helping to enact the landmark "Telecommunications Act of 1996," provided him with a unique insight into the workings of a major corporation and his hands-on approach with Members of Congress and the Administration has given him working knowledge of what it takes to get the job done in Washington. Dan has successfully married these two worlds, combining business know-how with political shrewdness to become a top Washington insider. He has consistently been named one of Roll Call's political "Fabulous Fifty" and The Hill's "Top Hired Guns." In the recent past, he has appeared on MSNBC and C-SPAN discussing current affairs and politics.

Alexander Strategy Group

<http://alexanderstrategy.com>

Alexander Strategy Group is a full-service lobbying and public affairs firm expertly equipped to handle all your advocacy needs. From K Street to Main Street, from the halls of power to the kitchen tables across America, Alexander Strategy Group understands clients needs may include more than the "old style" lobbying services that are now antiquated in today's legislative and regulatory environment.

Unlike traditional lobbying firms, Alexander Strategy Group offers an integrated suite of advocacy services that includes government affairs, strategic consulting, public relations, grassroots development, creative media, international representation, coalition building, business development and corporate/crisis communications.

Alexander Strategy Group has built a team of partners and associates that has made Alexander Strategy Group one of the most sought after lobbying and public affairs firms in the country. The experience put into practice is molding today's public policy decisions in Congress and influencing national debate on the most important policy decisions facing our clients and the nation.

Client's needs may be simply legislative. They may involve a complex public relations and government affairs challenge. They may require an understanding of how international policies are affected by domestic politics. They may present a corporate crisis that demands immediate expertise. No matter what approach is needed, the scope of services offered by Alexander Strategy Group can help you negotiate today's complex government affairs, communications and business development challenges.

Mike Mihalke

With over a decade of experience in the public affairs area, Mike Mihalke provides national and international corporate, trade association and organization clients with communications strategy, public relations, reputation management, branding and crisis communications services.

Mr. Mihalke's unique combination of experience on the public relations agency level, media training and work with numerous members of the U.S. House and Senate offers a unique perspective for clients who want all the skills offered at the large agencies with the personal attention that the large agencies simply cannot provide. It is this level of attention and years of honing savvy communications skill that has caused Mr. Mihalke to be characterized as one of "the most innovative public affairs strategists" in the country.

Prior to joining Alexander Strategy Group as Senior Partner, Mr. Mihalke was Managing Partner of Brabender Cox Mihalke, a media and public affairs agency that handled approximately \$40 million in annual billings from creative development and execution of media campaigns, corporate branding efforts, media placement, public relations, reputation management, crisis communications and strategic public affairs consulting for

clients that included: Highmark Blue Cross/Blue Shield; United Concordia Companies, Rent-a-Center, General Nutrition Center; The Pittsburgh Steelers; Walmart; and Ladbroke.

Prior to joining the private sector in 1995, Mr. Mihalke served as Director of Communications and Political Counsel to U.S. Senator Rick Santorum. In this capacity, he served as the Senator's spokesperson and political advisor on press and legislative strategy. He also oversaw state and national media strategy for the Senator's office and campaign organizations.

Mike began his career under Congressman Tom Ridge and went on to serve as Press Secretary in the U.S House of Representatives. Thirty-eight years old, Mike is a highest honor graduate from Pennsylvania State University. His insight on politics and media often appears in national publications and newscasts. His is a regular participant in lectures, seminars and campaign schools highlighting political strategy, public relations, reputation management, media and grassroots.

Mike is a Member of the Board of Trustee of the National Presbyterian School and the Colony Hill Neighborhood Association and a Board Member of the American Association of Political Consultants. He resides in Washington DC, with his wife, Julie, daughter, Amanda and son, Dylan.

Kevin Hassett

<http://www.aei.org/scholars/scholarID.26/scholar.asp>

Kevin A. Hassett is director of Economic Policy Studies and Resident Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. Before joining AEI, Dr. Hassett was a senior economist at the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System and an associate professor of economics and finance at the Graduate School of Business of Columbia University. He was the chief economic advisor to John McCain during the 2000 primaries. He has also served as a policy consultant to the U.S. Department of the Treasury during both the former Bush and Clinton administrations. He holds a B.A. from Swarthmore College and a Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania.

Dr. Hassett is a member of the Joint Committee on Taxation's Dynamic Scoring Advisory Panel. He is the author, coauthor or editor of six books on economics and economic policy. He has published scholarly articles in the American Economic Review, the Economic Journal, the Quarterly Journal of Economics, the Review of Economics and Statistics, the Journal of Public Economics, and many other professional journals. His popular writings have been published in the Wall Street Journal, the Atlantic Monthly, USA Today, the Washington Post, and numerous other outlets. His economic commentaries are regularly aired on radio and television including recent appearances on the Today Show, the CBS Morning Show, Newshour with Jim Lehrer, Hardball, Moneyline, and Power Lunch.

Robert Dahl

SUMMARY OF QUALIFICATIONS

Robert Dahl has extensive experience as a practitioner in political law and advisor to democratization programs. Dahl served as Executive Assistant to a member of the U.S. Federal Election Commission from 1985 to 1991. He has practiced law in areas of election law and campaign finance and ethics regulation, and is recognized as an expert in political finance, transparency and political accountability issues in the USA and emerging democracies. Dahl also managed or worked in several USA political campaigns and served as a field operative for a national political party committee.

EDUCATION

Bachelor of Arts (Political Science), Augustana College, Rock Island IL, 1974

Master of Arts (American Government & Political Behavior),
University of Maryland, College Park MD, 1976

Juris Doctor, University of Chicago Law School, Chicago IL, 1980
(Illinois Bar 1980; District of Columbia Bar 1995)

PROFESSIONAL HISTORY

1993-Present

Election Law Consultant, International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES),
Washington, D.C.

Consultant for election law and administration, particularly: drafting of laws and regulations, integrity of voting process and ballot security, political finance regulation and disclosure, and adjudication of election complaints.

Project manager in Moscow for IFES assistance program to the Russian Central Election Commission (CEC) for national elections in December 1993; over 20 return missions to Russia in 1994-1999 consulting with CEC, political parties and State Duma (parliament). Election law advisor for IFES' Indonesia program since August 1998, including participation in observation missions for general elections in June 1999 and April 2004, and presidential elections in July and September 2004. Work in Indonesia has involved extensive time in-country, advising policy-makers regarding electoral reform and civic participation issues in the People's Representative Council (DPR), Constitutional Court, General Elections Commission (KPU), political parties, non-governmental organizations and within academic community.

1992-2001

Attorney (solo practice), Washington, D.C.

Law practice specializing in election law and campaign finance and ethics regulation, and consulting in election law and administration in emerging democracies. Domestic clients included national and state political party committees, national political organizations (PACs), federal and state candidates, and members of U.S. House of Representatives, often representing clients before the U.S. Federal Election Commission (FEC). Served in "of counsel" role for Sullivan and Mitchell law firm, 1999 - 2001.

1992-Present (volunteer capacity 1990-1991)

Election Law Consultant, International Republican Institute, Washington, D.C.

Consultant for election law, voting procedures, and ballot security. Participated in election observation missions and advised election officials, members of parliaments and democratic political party activists in Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Bulgaria, Romania, and former Yugoslavia. Advisor to local self-governance project in China in 1995. Election law and voting system specialist for advance advisory mission to Indonesia in June 1998, including assistance to 'Team Seven' election preparation committee. Currently member of expert panel advising on development of new constitution in Iraq.

1992

Attorney, Wiley, Rein & Fielding Law Firm, Washington, D.C.

Hired on six-month contract following government service to assist law firm's election law practice. Work primarily involved research and memorandum drafting on issues involving election, ethics and lobbying law.

1985-1991

Executive Assistant to Commissioner Thomas J. Josefiak, Federal Election Commission (FEC), Washington, D.C.

Advised Commissioner on legal and administrative matters at agency. Responsibilities primarily included: reviewing recommendations and reports of the FEC General Counsel regarding enforcement cases, litigation, advisory opinion requests and regulatory revisions; reviewing Audit Division recommendations and reports; conducting legal research regarding judicial and Commission precedent; drafting concurring and dissenting opinions, alternative drafts and amendments for advisory opinions; and drafting Statements of Reasons for closed enforcement cases.

1985

Director of Strategic Research, National Republican Congressional Committee, Washington, D.C.

Developed program for conducting research regarding voting records, legislative activities, district profiles and campaign finance reports. Managed research operation and staff.

1984

Field Director, National Republican Congressional Committee, Washington, D.C.

Coordinated NRCC support for Republican candidates for U.S. House of Representatives in northeastern United States.

RECENT CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION

Village Self-Governance in China
Beijing, China, July 1995 (International Republican Institute [IRI]).

Central Asian Election Officials
Almaty, Kazakhstan, November 1998 (International Foundation for Election Systems [IFES]).

Democracy and Good Governance in East Asia
Phnom Penh, Cambodia, August 2000 (IRI).

Political Finance Regulation in East Asia
Seoul, Korea, June 2001 (Sejong Institute and National Endowment for Democracy).

Role of Judiciary in Election Disputes
Sofia, Bulgaria, April 2002 (IFES).

Resolving Election Disputes by Constitutional Court
Bogor, Indonesia, February 2004 (IFES)

LANGUAGE COMPETENCE

Basic conversational ability ('advanced beginner') in Bahasa Indonesia

CPG Partners

CPG Partners chooses to work with business-minded office seekers who espouse a deep sense of civic responsibility and principled integrity. We place our skills, energy and expertise in support of candidates, companies and organizations that demonstrate high character both in and out of the public spotlight.

CAMPAIGN OPERATIONS

The synergy of political campaigns and public policy is inseparable. Or to say it in a simple way, we elect good people to produce good government. Government, which promises justice and safety for our citizens. Government, which insures free and fair competition in the marketplace. Taming government through partisan elections is just one method of persuasion. Our flexibility to move votes on behalf of our clients includes directing:

- Media Outreach;
- Ballot Initiatives, Referendums, local and statewide;
- Profiling demographic trends;
- Crisis Management

Drafting the strategy and tactics of winning elections begins with the aim of persuading and motivating grassroots activity.

ISSUE ADVOCACY

Whereas political committees are challenged by their attempts to connect apathetic voters to their political causes, corporate clients are challenged by the growth of legislation affecting their businesses. CPG Partners provides the tools and strategies to accomplish your objectives to insure your business is not competitively disadvantaged when interfacing with government;

- Lobbying;
- Integrated Communications (market research drives advertising);
- Grassroots Canvassing (Database management applying census data);
- Association Management and Conduit Direction

We have been central in developing persuasive messages through applied issue research of local and national importance.

COALITION BUILDING

We believe the most influential lobbyists do not live in Washington, D.C. or state capitols; they live in our communities all across America.

We have mobilized key constituent groups such as conservation groups, senior associations, student groups, professional and civic organizations, and government leaders to unite behind a common cause for the betterment of our communities.

Influential constituencies such as local police associations, environmental clubs, chambers of commerce, health organizations, religious leaders, and taxpayers groups have been enlisted for various clients to meet common objectives;

- Citizen Action creation/mobilization;
- Influencing public opinion;
- Impacting public policy;
- Serving as "Chief Information Officer," or spokesperson

Community relations and mobilizing civic involvement is the cornerstone of our business. Our broad experience in coalition team-building and media relations insures our clients will receive the attention their issues deserve reinforced with the strength of local community involvement.

Brian Christianson

Brian Christianson established DecisionMakers, Inc., in 1997; a government relations and political consulting firm based in Chicago, IL.

Prior to forming CPG Partners, Christianson's experience includes serving as Field Director for the National Republican Senatorial Committee and has advised numerous state and federal associations, including directing the state Republican Party in Wisconsin.

Christianson has traveled abroad extensively with the International Republican Institute as guest faculty and has provided political commentary for nationally syndicated radio and cable programming. He is a graduate of The American University, Washington, DC.

Eurasia21.com

Eurasia21 is a web-based, independent think tank, whose mission is to provide government and business leaders in the world with strategic insights on economic, social and political issues and policy solutions to current and emerging trends in Eurasia. Eurasia21.com focuses on the following countries: Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Russia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan. Eurasia21 also launched a special project focusing on the development of the free market in Ukraine in the summer of 2005.

Eurasia21.com was built to serve two purposes. First, Eurasia21.com is a single source for the most recent news reports regarding the region. Each country of interest has its own page featuring the latest headlines from news sources around the world. Secondly, Eurasia21.com is a traditional think tank, offering original content and reports about economic, political and social issues in the region.

Saltanat Berdikееva

Saltanat Berdikееva is the site editor of Eurasia21.com and manages the online, full service think tank on political, economic, and social issues in Eastern Europe, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Russia.

Prior to joining Davis Manafort, Ms. Berdikееva was a researcher at the Center for International and Strategic Studies, focusing on transnational threats, international crime, and terrorism. In addition, Ms Berdikееva was a Research Assistant at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace working on issues related to the post-September 11 environment in Central Asia and the spread of Islamic militants. Ms Berdikееva has also worked at the Center for National Security Studies, the National Democratic Institute, the Swiss Peace Foundation, the US Congressional Research Service, and the National Councils for International Education.

Ms Berdikееva holds a Masters Degree in International Security Studies from Georgetown University and a Bachelor of Arts degree in International and Comparative Politics from the American University in Central Asia in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. She has also attended Indiana University in Bloomington, Indiana.

A citizen of Kyrgyzstan, Ms Berdikееva lives in Washington, DC. She is fluent in English, Russian, and Kyrgyz and is proficient in French.

Matthew C. Freedman

Matthew Freedman has more than 20 years of experience working with foreign governments and the private sector in providing government relations, strategic planning, marketing, public affairs and public education activities. He has participated in numerous corporate and private sector projects, particularly in the former Soviet Union.

Over the past decade, Mr. Freedman has also dealt with the U.S. Government foreign policy, trade and national security agencies. Mr. Freedman has promoted U.S. investment in foreign countries, specifically in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the former Soviet Union, and he provides strategic consulting on corporate affairs development for multinational companies, as well as international trade and barter arrangements. He has represented corporate interests in the U.S. Congress and has undertaken government relations programs in foreign countries.

In the former Soviet Union, Mr. Freedman has served as Chief Strategist for the U.S. Government's funded Privatization Public Education Program in Kyrgyzstan designed to build support for privatization and market reform. He developed and implemented a program as The Chief of the Party in assisting the Russian Commission on Securities and the Capital Markets in meeting their training and communication needs.

He also served as Senior Technical Advisor for a World Bank funded project in Armenia. He worked on public education activities to support vegetable wholesaling in Russia, and he undertook activities to support increased access to commercial real estate in Russia. He is noted for his contributions in undertaking "Healthy Russia 2000" for the Russian Ministry of Privatization, undertaking significant polling and research on privatizing the health care industry throughout Russia. He worked in Hungary to support AvRt, the privatization agency, and finally, Mr. Freedman served as the Chief Strategist for the U.S. Agency for International Development's public education program to support mass privatization in Moldova.

In addition, he has worked with and provided assistance to a range of countries including: the Philippines, China, Pakistan, South Korea, Nigeria, Togo, Kenya, Bahamas, Barbados, Dominican Republic, St. Lucia, Peru, and Hungary on democracy, economic development, trade development and business investment.

Mr. Freedman has provided technical advice on aspects related to national privatization programs, international trade and barter arrangements, macro-economic trends, barriers to trade, the establishment of free trade zones, international financial institutions, international debt issues, the role of U.S. Government agencies in promoting exports and strategic economic planning.

Mr. Freedman has devised and implemented world wide public and corporate affairs projects for major U.S. companies. These activities included working with the international and diplomatic journalist community, press correspondences, speech writers, assist with speakers' training, advise on the creation of newsworthy events in

order to develop support amongst the U.S. business community, the Congress and within the Executive Branch.

Mr. Freedman has also provided technical advice on promoting democratization in developing countries including human rights advocacy, administration of justice, governance and pluralism, political party development, standards and norms for free and fair elections in Asia, Africa and Latin America. He has extensive experience in the use of benchmark surveys and polling data.

Mr. Freedman has served as Staff Director in the Office of Public Diplomacy for Latin America and the Caribbean, in the Office of the U.S. Secretary of State in 1985. Prior to this appointment, he served as the International Development Policy Advisor and Agency Coordinator for Narcotics and Terrorism Control at the Agency for International Development. He participated in developing strategies for The President's Task Force on International Private Enterprise and the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America (Kissinger Commission), and he served as the representative to the U.S. Secretary of State's Commission on Security and Economic Assistance.

Originally from New York, Mr. Freedman holds a Master's Degree with Honors in International Affairs from Georgetown University. He has studied at the University of York, England, and the Hague Academy of International Law in the Netherlands. He has an undergraduate degree from Kenyon College in Ohio. Mr. Freedman has worked on the George Bush for President campaigns in 1988 and 1992, and is the Dole For President campaign in 1996. Currently, Mr. Freedman is a member of the Board of Overseers, International Press Center and Club, Moscow, and a member of the National Press Club.

D & D Media

D & D Media's principals, Tad Devine and Mike Donilon, have extensive campaign experience in the United States and around the world. The firm specializes in strategic communications – writing, directing and producing broadcast and print advertising, and preparing candidates for debates and media interviews.

Devine and Donilon have consistently been recognized as two of the leading political consultants in the U.S and around the globe. In April 2003, The Sunday Business Post in Dublin called their political consulting firm “one of the most highly regarded and influential in the world.” The National Journal named their firm, “political consultant of the year” for the 2000 election cycle. In 1998, an ad produced for Senator John Edwards was named the best :30 second television ad in a U.S. Senate race, and Campaigns and Elections named one of their commercials produced for Governor Parris Glendening of Maryland the “most brutally effective attack spot” in politics that year. Their firm has received Pollie awards from the American Association of Political Consultants for work on campaigns as diverse as Senator Ted Kennedy's re-election bid in 1994 to Sheriff Nat Glover's historic election as the first African-American Sheriff in the state of Florida.

D&D's Philosophy—Define and Win the Battle for Public Opinion

Most public battles are won or lost on the basis of who defines the battle. This requires an understanding of the presumptions that the public brings to that battle, the potential strengths that can be presented for the client, and the likely lines of attack from the opposition. This philosophy places a premium on the following elements:

Research that tests the impact of information and arguments. D&D believes research should be used to measure the impact of information and arguments before that information and those arguments are presented on a broad scale to the public. In short, research should be a tool not simply to tell the way things are, but to convey how the public can be moved.

Messages that are clear, simple, and repetitious. More than anything else, an effective message must be free of clutter and easy to understand. It must then be delivered with numbing repetition.

The power of a positive case. Negative attacks have come to dominate most political campaigns and public policy battles. One of the results of this trend has been a failure on the part of too many campaigns to make their positive case. This has repeatedly led to situations in which the best case for many clients is left out of the public debate. D&D's experience has shown that a strong and persuasive positive case is not only a threshold test for many clients to meet, but also that this positive case is frequently the best buffer against whatever attacks are presented by opponents.

Discipline in executing the communications strategy. Many a communications strategy has been undermined by the refusal to stick to the basic message in an effort to

accommodate secondary messages. Campaigns need the discipline to stick with messages devised by solid research, where the immediate impact may not be apparent in horserace numbers.

Rapid fire responses to attacks from the opposition. A campaign must determine what attacks pose real threats and then move quickly to defuse those attacks which hold the potential of reshaping the fight.

Inoculating against anticipated attacks. It is critical to anticipate lines of attack before they occur, and to use the front end of a campaign to communicate information that undermines the power of the expected attack.

Client List:

Presidents/Prime Ministers:

- Bill Clinton of the United States
- Tony Blair of Great Britain
- Ehud Barak of Israel
- Andres Pastrana of Colombia
- Bertie Ahern of Ireland
- Fernando Enrique Cardoso of Brazil
- Alejandro Toledo of Peru
- Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada of Bolivia
- Mel Zelaya of Honduras

Senators:

- John Kerry of Massachusetts
- John Edwards of North Carolina
- Bill Nelson of Florida
- Jon Corzine of New Jersey
- Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts
- Mark Dayton of Minnesota
- Frank Lautenberg of New Jersey
- Joseph Lieberman of Connecticut
- Chris Dodd of Connecticut
- Barbara Mikulski of Maryland
- Jack Reed of Rhode Island
- Tom Harkin of Iowa
- Robert Torricelli of New Jersey
- Joseph Biden of Delaware
- Charles Robb of Virginia
- Paul Sarbanes of Maryland
- Harris Wofford of Pennsylvania
- Howard Metzenbaum of Ohio

Governors:

- Paris Glendening of Maryland
- Gerald Baliles of Virginia
- Bob Casey of Pennsylvania
- Zell Miller of Georgia
- Douglas Wilder of Virginia

Mayors:

- David Cicilline of Providence
- Anthony Williams of Washington, DC
- Alex Penelas of Miami-Dade County
- Harold Washington of Chicago
- Wellington Webb of Denver
- David Dinkins of New York

House of Representatives:

- Richard Gephardt of Missouri
- Brad Carson of Oklahoma
- Mike Andrews of Texas
- Louise Slaughter of New York
- Tom Allen of Maine
- Mel Watt of North Carolina
- Dan Glickman of Kansas
- Glen Browder of Alabama
- Owen Pickett of Virginia
- John Murtha of Pennsylvania
- Joe Kennedy of Massachusetts
- Thomas Foley of Washington
- Bernie Sanders of Vermont

Other Offices:

- Attorney General Thurbert Baker of Georgia
- Insurance Commissioner Bill Nelson of Florida
- Auditor General Bob Casey, Jr., of Pennsylvania
- Sheriff Nathaniel Glover of Jacksonville, Florida
- State Attorney Harry Shorstein of Florida

Tad Devine

Thomas A. (Tad) Devine was born in Providence, Rhode Island in 1955. Mr. Devine received his A.B. in American History from Brown University, and his J.D. from Suffolk University School of Law. He is a member of the Bar in Rhode Island and the District of Columbia.

Mr. Devine has extensive experience in national and international politics and is considered one of the leading experts on the Democratic Party's presidential nominating process and general election strategy. His presidential campaign experience began in 1980 when he worked on President Carter's reelection campaign as a delegate tracker. He went on to serve as Deputy Director of Delegate Selection in the nomination campaign of former Vice President Walter Mondale and Executive Assistant to the Campaign Manager in the 1984 general election.

In 1987-88, Mr. Devine served as Director of Delegate Selection and Field Operations in the nomination campaign of Governor Michael Dukakis. In the general election, Mr. Devine served as Campaign Manager for the Vice Presidential nominee, Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas.

In 1992, Tad Devine was Campaign Manager for Senator Bob Kerrey's campaign for President. Later that year, Mr. Devine served as a member of the Democratic Party Rules Committee and was a consultant to CBS News throughout their coverage of the Democratic National Convention in New York.

Mr. Devine has also worked in law, government, and academia. From 1982 - 83 he served as a law clerk to the Rhode Island Superior Court, and from 1985 - 87 he worked as an Associate Attorney in the Washington, D.C. office of the law firm of Winston & Strawn. From 1989 - 90, he served as a Chief of Staff to the Mayor of Providence, R.I.

From 1991 to 1993, Mr. Devine served as Assistant to the President of Boston University. In addition to his duties in the President's office, Mr. Devine taught a course on presidential campaigns in the Department of Political Science and was a frequent university lecturer.

Since early 1993, Mr. Devine has worked as a media consultant, writing, directing and producing television and radio advertising for leading Democratic candidates in the U.S. and providing strategic advice for national campaigns in Europe, the Middle East and South America. He has also taught campaign management and strategy courses at the Graduate School of Political Management at The George Washington University.

Tad Devine's work as a strategist and media consultant has been recognized by leading media and political consulting organizations. Mr. Devine has produced award-winning television advertising for Sen. Edward Kennedy (MA), Sen. John Edwards (NC), and Gov. Parris Glendening (MD).

In the United States, Mr. Devine has worked at the highest levels of the last two campaigns for President. In the 2000 general election, Mr. Devine served as a senior strategist to the Gore/Lieberman 2000 campaign and oversaw the day-to-day management of the campaign. In 2004, Mr. Devine served as a senior advisor and strategist to Senator John Kerry's campaign for President in both the primary and the general election. He frequently represented the campaign on national television programs like Meet the Press, Face the Nation and numerous other broadcasts.

Mr. Devine's international experience includes his work as a strategist and media consultant for winning campaigns in Columbia (President Andres Pastrana – 1998), Israel (Prime Minister Ehud Barak – 1999), Peru (President Alejandro Toledo – 2001), Bolivia (President Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada – 2002) and Ireland (Taoiseach Bertie Ahern 1997 and 2002).

Mr. Devine lives in McLean, VA with his wife Ellen and their three children.

Mike Donilon

Michael C. Donilon was born in Providence, R.I. in 1958. He received an A.B. in History and English from Georgetown University and a J.D. from Georgetown Law School.

From 1981 until 1987, Mr. Donilon held the positions of senior analyst, Vice President, and President of Cambridge Survey Research. During that time, he worked on a wide range of political and corporate campaigns. These included campaigns for Governor Mario Cuomo, Governor Michael Dukakis, Senator George Mitchell, Senator Paul Simon, Mayor Harold Washington, Mayor Wilson Goode, Governor Gerald Baliles, Senator Alan Cranston, Amnesty International, the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee and Major League Baseball. From 1988 until 1991, Mr. Donilon ran his own public opinion research firm where his clients included Governor Douglas Wilder, Governor Bob Casey, Senate-challenger Harvey Gantt, and Senator Joseph Biden.

From 1991 until 1993, Mr. Donilon was a partner in the firm of Doak, Shrum, Harris, Sherman and Donilon, where he was the lead pollster and media adviser in Senator Harris Wofford's upset victory over Dick Thornburgh in 1991. In 1992, Mr. Donilon was a member of both the Clinton/Gore creative advertising team and the Clinton War Room strategy group. From 1993 until 1995, Mr. Donilon was a partner in the firm of Grunwald, Eskew and Donilon where his responsibilities included Governor Zell Miller's successful re-election campaign in Georgia.

Since 1995, Mr. Donilon has worked as a senior strategist and media consultant. During that time he has played a lead role in campaigns of Senator Mark Dayton, Senator Jon Corzine, Senator Bill Nelson, Senator John Edwards, Senator Joe Lieberman, Senator Jack Reed, Senator Chris Dodd, Senator Bob Torricelli, Congressman Dick Gephardt, Congressman Brad Carson and the Attorney General of Georgia Thurbert Baker. In 2004, Mr. Donilon was Senior Advisor and Senior Media Consultant to the John Kerry for President campaign.

Mike Donilon also has extensive experience working in campaigns around the world. Mr. Donilon has worked as a pollster, strategist and media consultant in campaigns in Brazil (Fernando Enrique Cardoso 1994), Colombia (Andres Pastrana 1998), Israel (Ehud Barak 1999), England (Tony Blair 2001), and Ireland (Bertie Ahern 1997 & 2002).

Mr. Donilon has been recognized over the years as one of the leading Democratic strategists in the country. In 1990 his public opinion firm was named one of the "Ten Best" consulting firms in the nation by Campaign Magazine, and in 1991 he was named one of the "Rising Stars" of American politics by Campaigns and Elections Magazine. In 2000, Donilon led the firm to the best record for Democratic media consultants in U.S. Senate races, earning recognition as National Journal's "political consultants of 2000" in America.

Steve Goldberg

Steve Goldberg received his bachelor's degree in political science from the University of Massachusetts in 1977. From 1977-1980 he worked for the NTA, Inc, the preeminent direct marketing firm for the Democratic Party in Washington, DC. In 1980, as part of NTA, Mr. Goldberg worked on the presidential campaign of Senator Ted Kennedy. After the campaign he became Deputy Campaign Manager for Chuck Schumer's first congressional race. In that race he designed and implemented an innovative direct marketing campaign that resulted in a 57% vote in a four way primary.

Mr. Goldberg went to work for then Mayor Pete Wilson of San Diego in the US Senate race against Governor Jerry Brown. In the 1982 political cycle he also represented Congressman Tom Foley of Washington. (Congressman Foley went on to become Speaker of the House.)

As a result of his work on the Wilson Senate victory, where for the first time a republican campaign employed his techniques, Mr. Goldberg was recruited by Lee Atwater to work on President Reagan's reelection campaign in 1984. After the 1984 campaign he was asked to join then Vice-president Bush's effort for the 1988 nomination.

In 1986 Mr. Goldberg represented Governor's Jim Thompson of Illinois, Carrol Campbell of South Carolina, Tommy Thompson of Wisconsin, John Engler of Michigan as well as Senate and Gubernatorial races in Ohio, Georgia, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and John McCain's Senate race in Arizona.

In 1988 he worked on the Presidential campaign for Vice-president Bush. He along with Andy Card (now Chief of Staff to the current President) helped pull out the Vice-president's comeback victory in the New Hampshire primary. After Vice-president Bush's nomination Mr. Goldberg was the architect of the largest voter program up to that time. After the election Mr. Goldberg was nominated and appointed to the board of the Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC.

In the 1990, 1994 and 1998 he represented a majority of Republican Governors including races in Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Alabama, Florida, South Carolina, Tennessee, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin, Missouri, Texas, Illinois, California as well as numerous Senate and Congressional races.

In 1992 Mr. Goldberg once again worked for President Bush the Republican National Committee, the National Republican Congressional Committee and the Republican Senate Campaign Committee.

In 1995 Mr. Goldberg became a Senior Advisor to Scott Reed, campaign manager for Senator Bob Dole. From 1995 until November 1996 he was part of the Senior Staff for the campaign.

In 2002 and currently he began to do extensive grass roots lobbying and campaign work for trade and issue based organizations including referendums for the Americans for Gun Safety in Oregon and Washington State. Mr. Goldberg also has represented the US Chamber of Commerce in the Chambers drive for tort reform.

At present Mr. Goldberg has a close relationship with the House leadership and has worked with them and the Pharmaceutical industry to pass the recent Medicare Prescription Drug Bill.

Mr. Goldberg sits on the Board of the Hewitt School, the Lubovitch Youth Organization and the Galilee Foundation. He is married to his wife Lissa for 21 years and they have 4 children.

Event Strategies, Inc.

ESI brings a unique vision to the world of political campaigns, corporate communications, event management and promotions. Cultivated over years of producing "advance operations" for the White House, presidential campaigns and some of the nation's most memorable political and corporate events, ESI provides cutting edge event management and production services with the goal of producing events that target - and earn - positive media attention.

Specifically, ESI has used the experience of its principals in advance and logistics to produce message driven special events that generate earned media for their clients. By subscribing to the theory that people remember what they see, far longer than what they either read or hear, ESI designs events for their clients that feature thematic visuals that "visually amplify" a client's "message." These events typically feature complicated logistical arrangements, and are specifically designed to broadcast a client's specific message.

The ESI team has produced numerous events for corporations, government associations, non-profit organizations and the White House in nearly every major U.S. city, as well as a variety of international settings. And because of the volume of business ESI brings to their strategic partners, ESI is able to effectively control costs for their clients.

Whether an ESI client is looking for production of a large special event, a complicated road show, advance services for high-level dignitaries, or a nationwide guerilla-marketing tour, ESI's advance and logistical experience has allowed them to bring a new level of customer service to their clients. Often, their clients utilize ESI's services as just one component of a much larger campaign; as a result, they often work closely with communications departments of corporations and associations to reinforce a strategic message.

Tim Unes

Tim Unes is President of Event Strategies, Inc. (ESI). ESI is an Event Marketing company specializing in "advance" tactics and strategies gained while conducting "advance" operations for the White House, presidential campaigns, executive advance and varied political campaigns.

Immediately before forming Event Strategies, Inc., Mr. Unes was President of ProAdvance, Inc. Prior to that, Mr. Unes was employed by Edelman Public Relations Worldwide, where he managed several high-profile projects, including forming and leading a bipartisan advance operation for the Presidents' Summit for America's Future, an event chaired by General Colin Powell that included the Presidents Clinton, Bush, Carter and Ford, along with hundreds of other politicians and celebrities.

As President of ProAdvance, Mr. Unes won Event Solutions magazine 1998 "Spotlight Award for Rising Star" -- an award given to an individual or company new to the event industry. He was selected from more than a dozen nominations from across the country.

Mr. Unes served as Tour Director for Senator Bob Dole in the 1996 general election campaign, where he travelled with the candidate and was responsible for all aspects of the Senator's advance operation, including oversight of the advance teams, coordination with the Secret Service and media, and briefing the candidate on event logistics. During the primaries he was lead advance, responsible for the campaign's advance operation in New Hampshire, and as lead advance in San Diego coordinated all of Senator Dole's activities at the Republican National Convention.

During the first Bush Administration, Mr. Unes was lead advance at the Department of Transportation, where he accompanied Secretaries Skinner and Card on travel around the nation and the world. He also advanced President Bush and Vice President Quayle.

Mr. Unes holds a Bachelor of Arts degree in Political Science from The George Washington University in Washington, DC.

Resumes



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1pm tomorrow (Tuesday)

FELIX KERNER**OBJECTIVES**

- Seeking employment as a Russian Language Linguist on a contract or full-time basis

SUMMARY OF QUALIFICATIONS

- 15+ years of experience as a Russian language interpreter and translator, including numerous simultaneous and cabinet-level official government assignments
- Significant experience in providing simultaneous interpretation and language support services for U.S. military exercises and U.S. law-enforcement training and field operations
- Vast interpreter experience in technical fields: Aerospace, Energy and Power sector, and Military Technology
- Successfully tested for all levels of interpreting by the U.S. Department of State. Scored 5/5/5 on Defense Language Proficiency Test (DLPT)
- Native Russian. In-depth knowledge of current economic, political and cultural climate of Russia and other countries of the former USSR. Significant experience and understanding of the U.S. business culture and practices.

Personal qualities

- Proven ability to work with people, self-starter, able to learn quickly, responsible, able to take charge, make critical decisions and work with minimal supervision

Advanced PC skills

- Extensive knowledge of various popular PC and Internet applications.

EXPERIENCERussian Interpreters Network, Atlanta, GA www.russianinterpreter.org*Founder and member
Interpreter*

- 1998 – Present
 - ◆ Provided simultaneous and consecutive interpretation, translation, and other language support services for the USCENCOM, USEUCOM, and USJFCOM exercises (refer to following pages for a complete project listings)
 - ◆ Provided language support and administrative services for Northrop Grumman Mission Systems defense sector clients
 - ◆ Provided a variety of language support assignments for corporate clients in legal, energy, manufacturing, medical, aerospace and other fields.

U.S. Department of State, Office of Language Services, Washington, DC

Contract Interpreter

- 1995 - Present
 - ◆ Provided simultaneous and consecutive interpretation of over 30 law enforcement training programs and field exercises for the Bureau of Diplomatic Security of the Department of State under auspices of the Anti-Terrorism Assistance Program. (refer to following pages for recent project listings)
 - ◆ Provided simultaneous and consecutive interpretation of over 70 seminars and exchange programs for the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the Department of State on various topics ranging from Aviation Security and Government Affairs to Mass Media, Education, and Business Development.
 - ◆ Assisted with logistics and daily program administration.

Georgia State University, Atlanta, GA

*Consultant and Contract
Interpreter*

- 1994 – 1997
 - ◆ Provided logistic support, consulting, and language services for training seminars for high-level officials from countries of the former USSR.
 - ◆ Facilitated "russification" of economic modeling and forecasting applications

info@RUSSIANINTERPRETER.ORG

2834 Rockbridge Rd.
Marietta, GA 30066 USA
1-678-481-0184
fkerner@att.net
www.russianinterpreter.org

THE FOLLOWING PAGES LIST ONLY RECENT PROJECTS GROUPED BY SUBJECT MATTER

MILITARY

November 2005

U.S. Dept. of Defense, EUCOM, Department of State, Oklahoma City, OK, Provided simultaneous interpretation for United States - Azerbaijan Bilateral Defense Consultations

August 2005

U.S. CENTCOM, Suffolk, VA, Regional Cooperation 2005. Provided simultaneous interpretation and translation services

June 2005

U.S. JFCOM, Washington, DC, Eloquent Nugget 2005. Organized a team of interpreters and provided simultaneous interpretation for Partnership for Peace (PFP) exercise and series of seminars.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

Federal Law Enforcement Training Center (FLETC) Glynco, GA. Post-Blast Investigations

Simultaneous interpretation for a numerous two-week training programs organized by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms for bomb technicians from the countries of the former USSR.

Nonproliferation and National Security Institute, Bureau of Diplomatic Security DOS, Albuquerque, NM
Simultaneous interpretation for the following training programs and field exercises:

Vital Installations Security

VIP Protection

Emergency Medical Interventions During Mass Casualty Situations

Rural Border Patrol Training

Officer Survival Tactics

Instructor Development Course

Antiterrorist Operations

Louisiana State Police, Bureau of Diplomatic Security DOS, Baton Rouge, LA

Simultaneous interpretation for the following training programs and field exercises:

Officer Survival Tactics

Senior Crisis Management

Hostage Negotiations

Explosive Incident Countermeasures

Post-Blast Investigations

Crisis Response Tactics

Advanced Crisis Response Tactics

Surveillance Countermeasures

Joint Capstone exercises

Advanced Firearms Training

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Government and Public Policy

- U.S. Federalism and Local Government
- Local Government in the United States
- Civil Aviation and Aviation Security
- Tax administration at the State Level
- Employment and Labor Laws in the United States
- Labor Unions in the United States
- Local Government Financing
- Management of Public Utilities
- Water Resource Management

Politics, Civil Society

- Political Campaign Management
- Local Elections in the United States
- Political Campaigns and Mass Media
- Non-Profit Sector Development
- NGO Leadership Development
- Civics Education
- U.S. Court System and Courts Administration
- Religious Tolerance in the United States
- Public Administration
- Domestic Violence Prevention

Mass Media

- Journalism in the United States
- Public Broadcasting in the United States
- Mass Media and the Government

Medical, Technical, Legal

- International Space Station Design and Development
- Defense Conversion
- HIV/ AIDS Education and Prevention
- Hepatitis and Tuberculosis Prevention
- Pre-natal Health and Education
- Domain Name Rights and Management
- Copyright and Intellectual Property Issues
- Mediation vs Litigation

Many others too numerous to list.

References may be obtained from my website www.russianinterpreter.org

CATHERINE BARNES
CONSULTANT

1408 BAKER PLACE WEST, NO. 31 ♦ FREDERICK, MD 21702

Worldwide Mobile: (202) 468 0369 ♦ Telefax: (301) 698 9423

E-mail: cbconsul@erols.com

CAREER SUMMARY

Since 1990, Ms. Barnes has worked on democracy and governance projects in more than 25 countries, primarily in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Ms. Barnes applies her expertise in organizational and mass communications and public information, outreach, and advocacy to political development, electoral reform, local governance, and NGO sector support projects. Her experience spans all facets of project realization from design and implementation to management (both at headquarters and in the field) and evaluation. Following employment at IRI and IFES, Ms. Barnes established her own consultancy in 1997. She has worked with an array of partners in government, politics, advertising, mass media, academia, and civil society. She is the author of several articles on approaches to foreign aid and on political developments in the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and has served as editor of a web-based publication on voter education.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Catherine Barnes, Consulting, Frederick, MD

INDEPENDENT CONSULTANT (4/97 – Present)

Functional Expertise: Public Information, Outreach, and Advocacy and Training
Project Development, Management, and Evaluation

Overview: Worked on 40+ contracts in the U.S., Eastern Europe, the Former Soviet Union, Asia, and North Africa over the course of eight years for a number of clients including: IFES, MSI, CAII, ISC, World Vision, International IDEA, OSCE-ODIHR, Center for Democracy, IIE, and USAID.

Sample Highlights:

Program Evaluation: Participated in evaluations of civil society programs for USAID in Bosnia (2004 and 2000), Croatia (2004), and assistance to political and electoral processes worldwide (MSI, 1998-1999), for ISC in Macedonia (2004), and for IFES in Azerbaijan (2003) and Indonesia (2001). Served as lead writer for USAID publications on national and local elections programming and the practical guide, *Managing Assistance in Support of Electoral and Political Processes*.

Public Information: Coordinated multi-media, multi-lingual public information campaigns in Macedonia on behalf of the Ministry of Justice (MOJ) and the State Election Commission (SEC) in cooperation with IFES (2002). Official data showed that the MOJ public information campaign, the first of its kind in Macedonia, resulted in a 200% increase in voter registration inquiries over the previous election. Also worked on voter education with official and NGO partners during the 2000 (local) and 2004 (early presidential) election cycles.

Training: Served as lead trainer, developing and delivering a training of trainers (TOT) program for a core team of 20 trainers representing IFES and the Central Election Commission of Azerbaijan (CEC). Oversaw the implementation of training for 10,351 poll workers in 66 constituencies during a period of 3.5 weeks prior to the 2003 Presidential Elections.

Project Development: Headed proposal-drafting teams for various organizations and consortiums, winning in excess of \$25 million in funding for civic participation, municipal governance, legislative strengthening, judicial reform, and election projects in Pakistan, India, Indonesia, and the Caucasus via cooperative agreement and contract mechanisms. Authored a winning proposal for the Elections and Political Process (EPP) IQC with an award ceiling of \$ 400 million.

International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES), Moscow, Russia

RUSSIA PROJECT DIRECTOR (11/95 – 3/97)

- Managed a \$3+ million dollar project and an international team of 17 people. Project components included legal reform, election administration, and civic education.
- Led media projects, outreach initiatives, and leadership training programs aimed at increasing youth participation in politics.
- Served as primary liaison to clients in Moscow as well as contacts in the Government, Parliament, diplomatic and donor communities, NGOs, and the mass media.
- Provided commentary on Russian political developments to international media based in Moscow.

International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES), Washington, D.C.

SENIOR PROGRAM OFFICER, EUROPE AND ASIA (05/94 – 10/95)

- Managed program staff, project implementation, and budget expenditures for Russia and Central Asia. Russia project positively assessed by the General Accounting Office.
- Oversaw the opening of regional offices in Moscow, Almaty, and Tashkent.
- Recruited, oriented, and trained new project staff and consultants.
- Contributed to the development of policies and procedures to accommodate expanding representation overseas.

PROGRAM OFFICER, NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATES (09/93 – 04/94)

- Headed development team that secured \$9.2+ million in funding for projects in countries of the former Soviet Union, a 69% increase over existing funding levels.
- Expanded company's regional presence to include five Central Asian countries. Launched project in Kazakhstan.
- Managed 11 person, multi-national, project team advising the Central Election Commission during the constitutional crisis in Russia in late 1993.

International Republican Institute (IRI), Washington, D.C.

PROGRAM OFFICER, SOVIET UNION (03/91 – 07/93)

- Drafted proposals that won \$4.9+ million in funding for projects in the Soviet Union, a 95% increase over existing funding levels, while diversifying funding base.
- Doubled area of company operations from six to 12 republics.
- Oversaw the opening of regional offices in Vilnius, Moscow, and Almaty.
- Coordinated project activities in Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and the Baltics.
- Conducted field-based training on communication and outreach strategies.

PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT CONSULTANT (06/90 – 03/91)

- Secured \$250,000 in seed funding to launch projects in Russia, Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and Kazakhstan.
- Established and cultivated company's contact networks throughout the USSR.
- Undertook field-based assessments to determine the feasibility of implementing political development projects in the Soviet Union.
- Prepared original analysis and briefing materials on political developments in the Soviet Union for management and members of the board.

Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues

VOLUNTEER (06/88-08/88): Tracked and reported on bills affecting women.

Republican National Committee

STAFF MEMBER (06/88-08/88): Solicited funds in support of GOP candidates.

EDUCATION

University of Virginia

Courses: Coursework toward a Master's Degree in Foreign Affairs, September 1989 - June 1995.

Regional Focus: Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union

Area of Study: Comparative Politics, with an emphasis on the rise of informal groups during Glasnost

University of Delaware

Degree: Bachelor of Arts conferred in May 1989.

Majors: Mass Communication and Political Science.

Honors: Graduated Magna Cum Laude with a 3.79/4.00 grade point average. Awards conferred by the university in recognition of 'meritorious leadership and service,' 'outstanding achievement in communication' and 'academic excellence' in the field of political science.

Writing samples and references available upon request.

Martha R. Young

827 Neff Road, Grosse Pointe, MI 48230
Telephone: 313-642-0762
Email: Martha@compassionatechange.com

Catalyst for change through consulting, coaching, and training. Design and deliver programs that produce measurable results. Facilitate effective dialogue among persons from diverse social and economic groups.

Professional Experience

COMPASSIONATE CHANGE LLC, Grosse Pointe, Michigan 2000-present

Managing Principal – Coaching and Consulting for Organizational and International Development

- Provide coaching in the areas of communication skills, conflict resolution and business effectiveness.
- Design and facilitate change interventions, training workshops, retreats and team building.
- Provide consulting to for-profit and non-profit organizations in the areas of strategic planning, program development, management and leadership development.
- Design diagnostic tools to evaluate program effectiveness and enhance organization sustainability.
- Designed advocacy conference in Almaty, Kazakhstan attended by 120 small business association leaders.
- Designed and delivered more than 50 trainings in U.S. and areas of former Soviet Union.

ANDERSON CONSULTING, Chicago, Illinois, summer 1999

Senior Consultant-Intern

- Formulated sales and marketing strategy for web based specialty retailer as part of six-person team.
- Analyzed primary and secondary research to segment market.
- Edited and presented video of focus group findings to client.

MILLER, CANFIELD, PADDOCK AND STONE, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1996-1998

Attorney

- Negotiated and closed over 60 real estate financings valued at \$20 million.
- Managed \$15 million acquisition of Michigan specialty printing corporation as part of a three-person team.

CLIFFORD CHANCE, Moscow, Russia, 1994-1996

Attorney

- Counseled clients on structuring foreign investment in Russia for Moscow office of the large international law firm. Advised on general corporate and securities matters including acquisitions and company formation.

DRAHCIR INDUSTRIES, Moscow, Russia, 1993-1994

Counsel

- Negotiated U.S. – Russian joint venture for export of natural resources.

EDUCATION:

- **Masters in Business Administration with honors**, University of Michigan, May 2000
- **Juris Doctor**, University of Michigan Law School, 1992
- **Bachelor of Arts with distinction, Russian & East European Studies**, Univ. of Michigan, 1988

Additional Education and Skills

- Certificate of coach training with Goldwinde Coaching
- Certified to administer Myers-Briggs Type Indicator® Step I and II
- Certificate in Whole Scale® Change Methodologies
- Fluent in Russian

Professional Affiliations

- Certified trainer candidate and member- Center for Nonviolent Communication
- Past-President-Detroit Association for Psychological Type

International Development Work

April-May 2004 International Foundation for Electoral Systems

Revised and edited reports on political finance regulation in post-conflict areas. Conducted research, fact-checked and added analysis. Edited reports on Kosovo, Afghanistan, El Salvador, Haiti and Cambodia.

February 2004 Counterpart International

Assisted in design and facilitation of quarterly meeting for 15-person team. Monitored and evaluated activity of partnership program in three cities. Drafted 4 party cooperation agreement among Kazakhstan government agencies, local business associations and international NGO. Provided recommendations on improving trust, communication and information sharing in the program. Analyzed productivity and efficiency of program and created work plan to meet program targets.

September 2003 Counterpart International -Kazakhstan

Evaluated progress of two pilot programs designed to transfer technology and programs to local Kazakh business associations. Prepared recommendations for future strategic direction. Analyzed information management systems and communications strategy and provided recommendations for increasing effectiveness of information delivery across 5 offices in Kazakhstan.

September 2003 International Organization Development Association Conference

Attended the International Organization Development Association conference in St. Petersburg, Russia. Participated in exchanges of organization development theories, methodologies and best practices with Russian organization development consultants.

June-July 2003 Citizens Development Corps – Romania

Led eight member Romanian/American consultant team in analysis of four industry sectors in Romania. Designed research and on-site visits. Analyzed findings from on-site visits, state statistics, and secondary resources. Co-authored four 100+ page reports and comparative analysis report of industry sectors. Designed and proposed recommended technical assistance to be provided and interventions including programs, time tables, resources required and budgets.

April 2003 Counterpart International - Kazakhstan

Provided comments and consultation on development of a communications strategy designed to spread best practices and new technology and knowledge among business associations in the country of Kazakhstan.

January 2003 Counterpart International - Kazakhstan

Developed a diagnostic tool to compare dissimilar non-profit associations located in Kazakhstan. The tool assists in identifying current level of development relative to other associations and potential for sustainability of association and its programs.

October-November 2002 Counterpart International - Kazakhstan

Conducted assessments of Kazakhstan based business associations who are working with Counterpart International/Pragma Corporation program to eliminate barriers to trade in Kazakhstan. Assessments were made in Almaty, Atyrau, Pavlodar and Ust-Kamenogorsk.

Met with business association presidents and conducted one-on-one interviews in Russian to determine association needs and to document best practices.

Reported on results of assessments and used information to assist Counterpart/Pragma staff in drafting a six month work plan designed to transfer technology to Kazakh based business associations. The program is designed to increase the speed of removal of investment constraints and improve financial sustainability of in-country business associations.

January- March 2002 Counterpart International - Kazakhstan

Conducted preliminary needs assessment work for proposed conference on advocacy for leaders of business associations in five countries in Central Asia

Designed conference content including training, panel discussions and country breakout groups

Prepared budget, negotiated contract with facilities, and prepared and managed 6 week work plan for implementation by ten person team

Co-managed conference implementation including on-site training delivery, logistics and materials preparation; drafted post-conference report and designed follow-on strategy

April 1994-January 1996 Clifford Chance (law firm) - Moscow, Russia

Counseled US and European clients on structuring foreign investment in Russia for Moscow office of largest European law firm.

Lead three-person team funded by the British Department for International Development to increase the secondary market for securities in the Russian Federation. Analyzed businesses that were candidates for additional share offering following privatization and provided legal advice on structuring a share offering.

Negotiated with Russian regulatory authorities resulting in expedited grants of investment licenses and securities and tax registrations. Identified securities law compliance issues for multinational management team following \$150 million financing of paper mill.

Led due diligence and onsite verification teams connected with private equity placements and public offerings of Russian securities.

March-September 1993 International Republican Institute – Washington, DC

Associate Program Officer responsible for design and organization of political party and democracy building seminars in Russia.

Worked with US national and Russian national IRI employees and external consultants to produce, execute and analyze results of various seminars and meetings in Russia funded, in part, by USAID and NED.

50% travel within Russia including 6 weeks of advance work to prepare for conference involving 200 women from all countries of NIS

Reported on political situation and results of democracy building to USAID.

Specific Projects:

Bereznikhi, Russia (1 week in country) –Democracy Training

Led delegation of consultants to conduct 2-day training seminar on political party building.

Facilitated meeting concerning pressing issues with local female political activists and small businesswomen.

Khabarovsk, Russia (1 week in country) –Election Monitoring

Led a delegation of consultants on weeklong fact finding and referendum monitoring mission. Held meetings with high-ranking election officials in the region.

Monitored newspaper, radio and television regarding election environment.

Inspected 20 polling sites in and around the city of Khabarovsk.

Reported findings of mission at meeting on Capitol Hill.

Novgorod, Russia (6 wks in country)- Women's Business & Leadership Conference

Organized and managed on-site advance work for five-day business conference with 200 women political and business leaders from all parts of the former Soviet Union.

Negotiated contracts for conference facilities managed logistics and interviewed and hired local employees resulting in 50% reduction in costs.

Worked with IRI team to gather pre-conference data and design conference agenda.

Kemerovo, Russia (1 week in country)-Democracy Training

Organized and conducted 2-day political party building seminar for local activists; met with separately with political activists and gathered data on political climate; facilitated meeting concerning key issues with local female political activists and businesswomen; summarized findings and delivered report on data to USAID in Moscow.

BRENDAN FITZGERALD CROWE

91 Tulip Avenue, Aster D1, Floral Park, New York, USA 11001
brendancrowe@aya.yale.edu; mobile: 917.930.6739

EDUCATION

- 2003-2004 **THE FLETCHER SCHOOL OF LAW AND DIPLOMACY, TUFTS UNIVERSITY** Medford, MA
MASTER OF ARTS, International Relations concentrating in International Law, May 2004
- 1991-1994 **BOSTON UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW** Boston, MA
JURIS DOCTOR, May 1994
- 1985-1989 **YALE UNIVERSITY** New Haven, CT
BACHELOR OF ARTS, History, May 1989
- Thesis, *Anglo-Irish Relations and the Conflict in Northern Ireland (1918-1974)*, was shortlisted for the Andrew D. White Prize for its "superior use and interpretation of sources, organization, objectivity, and literary style"

LEGAL EXPERIENCE

- 2004-Present **LEGAL CONSULTANT** New York, NY
- Advised law firm, Cooper & Kirk in Washington, D.C., on issues of law and policy arising in class-action challenge to Tennessee's Medicaid program
 - Assisted law firms, Sullivan & Cromwell and Simpson Thacher & Bartlett, with discovery requests by reviewing files for responsiveness and privilege
- 2000-2003 **HOLLAND & KNIGHT LLP** New York, NY
ASSOCIATE, COMMERCIAL AND WHITE-COLLAR-CRIME LITIGATION
- Represented corporations and foreign governments in arbitrations, administrative proceedings, and litigations in federal and state courts
 - Handled litigation from the inception of disputes to their conclusion: anticipating and analyzing issues; evaluating risk; drafting pleadings; overseeing discovery; researching and writing briefs; coordinating strategy with co-counsel; and negotiating settlements
 - Researched, wrote, and advised on wide spectrum of legal issues, including: public and private international law, contract, tort, insurance, procurement, intellectual property, UCC, RICO, consumer and constitutional law, and civil procedure (e.g., class actions, choice of law, privilege)
 - Appointed lead writer on briefs to the Second and Fifth U.S. Circuit Courts of Appeals and contributed to other briefs, including one to the U.S. Supreme Court
 - Researched, wrote and presented two CLE-accredited lectures on the statutory, constitutional, and ethical rules governing the impartiality of judges and arbitrators

1996-2000 **KINGS COUNTY DISTRICT ATTORNEY**

Brooklyn, NY

ASSISTANT DISTRICT ATTORNEY (primarily Appeals Bureau)

- Researched, wrote, and argued appeals from felony judgments of conviction in state court (wrote: 32, argued: 17)
- Researched and wrote answers to motions to vacate judgment, orders to show cause, federal *habeas corpus* petitions, and freedom-of-information-act requests
- Regularly advised other prosecutors about appellate and trial matters
- Conducted witness interviews, hearings, plea negotiations, and motion practice
- Supervised junior assistant district attorneys at arraignments

OTHER LEGAL EXPERIENCE2005 **SWORDS INTO PLOWSHARES, BRILL ACADEMIC PUBLISHERS**

New York, NY

CO-EDITOR

- Edited book with Dr. Roy Lee, Special Fellow at UNITAR, for Columbia University Seminars on the United Nations; subjects included counter-terrorism, democracy promotion, organizational reform, and international criminal tribunals

2004 **SUMMER INSTITUTE OF UNITED NATIONS STUDIES**

New York, NY

RAPPORTEUR

- Reported on symposium sponsored by UNITAR and Columbia Law School; subjects included international terrorism, armed conflict, peacekeeping, law-making, humanitarian assistance, and UN institutional reform

2003-2004 **THE FLETCHER SCHOOL OF LAW AND DIPLOMACY, TUFTS UNIVERSITY**

Medford, MA

RESEARCHER FOR PROFESSOR LOUIS AUCOIN

- Developed curriculum for seminar on rule of law in post-conflict societies
- Edited and wrote summaries of studies on constitution-making in Poland and Albania for upcoming United States Institute of Peace report

2002 **BENJAMIN N. CARDOZO SCHOOL OF LAW, YESHIVA UNIVERSITY**

New York, NY

ADJUNCT PROFESSOR

- Instructed first-year law students on the basics of legal research and writing through supervised in-class exercises, homework assignments, and tutorials

1996-2000 **KINGS COUNTY DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S ADOPT-A-SCHOOL PROGRAM**

Brooklyn, NY

VOLUNTEER

- Instructed fifth-graders and high school students—through lecture, discussion, printed materials, instructional videos, and role-playing techniques (e.g., mock-trial)—on government, law enforcement and “street law” issues that might affect them, such as drugs, gangs, domestic violence, sexual abuse, and HIV infection

- 1992-1994 **THE PUBLIC INTEREST LAW JOURNAL** Boston, MA
ARTICLES AND SYMPOSIUM EDITOR
- Determined overall content of journal; solicited, evaluated, and selected articles for publication; edited articles on the political and legal aspects of the delivery of legal services to the poor; supervised junior staff
- 1992 **BOSTON UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW** Boston, MA
RESEARCHER FOR PROFESSORS LARRY YACKLE AND DAVID ROSSMAN
- Drafted treatise chapter on the civil consequences of guilty pleas
 - Assisted with research on the history and legality of excluding gays from St. Patrick's Day parades in Boston and New York
- 1991 **NEW YORK CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT LEGAL BUREAU** New York, NY
LEGAL INTERN
- Researched and wrote memoranda on employment discrimination, the Americans with Disabilities Act, drug-testing of police officers, and asset forfeiture

PUBLICATIONS

- *Treading the Narrow Path Between Timidity and Tenacity: The Recusal of Judges and Arbitrators*, accepted for publication by THE FEDERAL COURTS LAW REVIEW, August 2004
- *Current Developments in the Law*, 3 BOSTON UNIVERSITY PUBLIC INTEREST LAW JOURNAL 379 (1993)

BAR ADMISSIONS, LANGUAGE AND COMPUTER SKILLS, ASSOCIATIONS, TRAVEL AND CITIZENSHIPS

Bar Admissions: New York State, U.S. Ct. App. (2d Cir.), U.S. Dist. Ct. (E.D.N.Y.)

Languages: English (native), Spanish (oral: limited working; reading comprehension: advanced), French (oral: limited working but prior fluency; reading comprehension: advanced)

Computer Skills: Lexis-Nexis, Westlaw, Summation, PowerPoint, Excel, Microsoft Word, WordPerfect

Associations: American Bar Assoc., Am. Soc. of Int'l Law ("ASIL"), United Nations Assoc.

Travel: Cambodia, Thailand, Brazil, Australia, Spain, France, Italy, UK, Ireland, Mexico, Canada, USA

Citizenships: USA, Canada, Ireland

Memos

MISC

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